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The Catholic Historical Review

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LEGAL HISTORY: THE CASE FOR A NEGLECTED FIELD OF STUDIES

By

STEPHAN KUTTNER*

Since the years between the two world wars, and perhaps even more so since the end of the second, there has been much discussion and examination of conscience among European legal historians concerning the object, the purpose, and the value of their own science, or rather of that bundle of disciplines which we are wont to class under the common denominator of legal history. Writers have scrutinized the validity of its methods, its heuristic principles, its pedagogic aims; they have debated whether research in legal history has its proper place in the study of law or the study of history; they have probed into its relation to sociology, to economic history, to the history of political institutions and of ideas, and many other fields.

Very little of this debate on fundamentals has reached American ears, for the simple reason that legal history today has no assured place in our academic world. The law schools, on the whole, have turned their back upon historical jurisprudence, and the liberal arts do not seem to be ready to give shelter to the homeless stranger. This was not always so. At the beginning of the century, interest in the

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field was sufficiently alive to warrant the publication of a respectable set of foreign treatises in translation, the *Continental Legal History Series*,[1] covering in eleven volumes the main developments which constitutional and public law, judicial procedures, private and criminal law had taken through the centuries in some key nations of western Europe. It was significant of the spirit in which the editors of the series undertook their venture that they chose for the general introduction a chapter from the writings of Frederick William Maitland (1850-1906), one of whose lasting titles to greatness as an historian of English law is that he was the first to break through that barrier of insular thought which has always tended to keep the English legal tradition and its transatlantic offspring in a state of self-complacency.

Translating of foreign treatises was not the only American contribution to legal history in the early part of the twentieth century. One may point to some remarkable studies by such men as Wigmore, Radin, or Pound; to the editions of mediaeval English law books by Woodbine; to the acute investigations of mediaeval constitutional law by McIlwain and his school. The correspondence between Justice Holmes and Sir Frederick Pollock[2]—whatever reservations one may have about the legal philosophy of the Great Dissenter—remains an impressive document of the encyclopedic interest in problems of legal history evinced by a Supreme Court justice at the threshold of our age.

But, if I am not mistaken, a decline set in when legal education in this country, with the general adoption of the so-called case method, created a climate of pragmatism which left little room for an historical study of law. Like other branches of history, the history of law becomes a dried-up matter when it is relegated to the introductory pages of textbooks written for other purposes, and when the summary rehearsing of the data established by earlier historians takes the place of productive research. Not many of the men who were active earlier in the century are alive today, and few of them have left disciples behind them to continue their work. With the history of constitutional law as the one great exception—and to this aspect I shall return presently—we can, indeed, not speak of a school, or schools, of legal historians in

[1] Published under the auspices of the Association of American Law Schools, 11 vols. (Boston, 1912-1918).

[2] *Holmes-Pollock Letters: The Correspondence of Mr. Justice Holmes and Sir Frederick Pollock*, edited by Mark De Wolfe Howe (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1941).

this country, only of a handful of single scholars; and their work is often better known abroad than at home.

It is characteristic of this climate that among the scores of European men of learning who during the 1930's and 1940's came as refugees to the United States in the wake of the totalitarian upheavals of our time, the legal historians were the least successful in finding a place in the American academic community. In the humanities, the social, and the natural sciences, a great number of refugee scholars were able to continue in the field of their calling, but only few were so fortunate in the history of law. Mostly, if they did obtain academic positions, they had to teach subjects in which their special training and abilities were wasted, while for their own work they had to find consolation in private, uncommunicative research. Obviously, this situation accounts for the regrettable fact that eventually some outstanding legal historians returned, where this was feasible, to their homeland.

Let me mention another symptom. Back in 1929-1930, one of the world's leading authorities in Roman law, the late Salvatore Riccobono, was for a year at the Catholic University of America as a guest professor. At the end of his stay, and under the impact of his lectures and his personality, a learned society, which still exists in Washington, was organized under the name of the Riccobono Seminar of Roman Law in America. Going over the records of its meetings,[3] one cannot fail to observe that the initial impetus has lost much of its momentum over the years. Even though the organization gradually extended its field of interests beyond the Roman law into other branches of historical, comparative, and general jurisprudence, the circle of speakers on which the society could draw for its scheduled lectures, and the circle of listeners which it could attract, have become narrower and narrower as time has passed. As one who for many years has been, and still is, *ex officio* one of the persons responsible for the Riccobono Seminar, I cannot but feel saddened by the discrepancy between its actual status in American academic life and the high hopes which nearly thirty years ago were kindled by its foundation; hopes which remained alive well into the 1940's and which even after the war

[3] Reports of the meetings were annually published before World War II in the *Bullettino dell'Istituto di Diritto Romano* (Rome); from then on, notices of the meetings and some of the papers read have been published over the years in *The Jurist* (published by the School of Canon Law of the Catholic University of America) and its annual supplement, *Seminar*.

prompted an outstanding Austrian legal historian, Paul Koschaker, to make special mention of the Washington group as "the only academy of Roman law" on the very first page of his remarkable book, *Europa und des römische Recht.*[4]

I must ask your forgiveness if I have thus far beeen trying your patience with musings on the fate of some foreign-born scholars and on the ups and downs of what would seem to be a somewhat esoteric study group. At this point many of you may even wonder whether I am not speaking at the wrong convention, and whether my remarks would not more properly be addressed to a meeting of American law schools. However, much as I may be biased by my training as a lawyer, I am convinced that the history of law is very much of the historian's concern; and I must presume that many of you, nay, a majority of you, share this conviction to some extent, or else I would obviously not be standing on this rostrum today.

* * * *

In our day and age it should no longer be necessary to offer evidence for the assertion that legal history is as much an integral factor of enlightened historiography as are social and economic history, the history of ideas, of education and religion, of literatures and the arts. That law is a primary, essential expression of every civilization would seem to be a truism; and yet historians at large are reluctant to draw the logical consequence and to make themselves as familiar with the law that exists in a given society as they would do with all other social, political, or cultural factors which are relevant to a true understanding of that society and of the events that took place in it. In tracing the rise of the merchant class in the Italian city states of the later Middle Ages, how many historians have studied the law of negotiable instruments as created by the acumen of the Italian lawyers? Can we say that much weight is commonly given, in comparison with the ideas of the French Revolution, to the Napoleonic codes in tracing the world-wide influence of France on the civilization of the nineteenth century? Is the student of mediaeval feudalism familiar with the complexities involved in the legal notion of fief, or with the consolidation of Lombard feudal practice in the *Libri feudorum,* to say nothing of the commentaries written thereon in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries?

[4] (Munich, 1947), p. vii; cf. also p. 129.

This list of questions asked at random could be easily prolonged, and the answers will not for the most part be encouraging. Many students of history seem to believe that they would be trespassing if they were to make a serious investigation of law part of their discipline; it seems to be tacitly assumed that what interests the "legal specialist" is not the historian's business. There are several reasons, some spurious and some genuine, to explain this attitude. I have no doubt, for one, that like other educated people many historians share certain popular preconceived notions about law and the lawyers. One of these is the antithesis of law and life; law is conceived of as empty form, a lifeless shell of all that is real in society, in economy, in thought. All reasoning which leads to a pattern or a norm of behavior, all speculative and practical thought on man's relations in society is seen as pre-legal and extra-legal; the law expresses only what it finds and provides for the necessary means of coercion. In this conception every creative influence of the law and of legal thought on the life of society is radically denied; the all-pervading presence of law as a structural order and a moving force in men's thought and action is no longer perceived; law appears merely as a kind of social plumbing.

Then there is also the age-old distrust of the legal profession. This, too, is found not only on the popular level: it has a literary history of its own, from goliardic verse to Dickens and beyond. In its extreme form, it conceives of lawyers as a group of men initiated in a secret discipline of learning which enables them at will to make right out of iniquity by a web of artful devices and to distort simple justice with a bag of tricks. I do not think that serious historians will harbor this extreme prejudice, but I am afraid that many of them are biased at least to the extent that they consider the train of legal thought—and hence its manifestation in legal argument and legal writing—only an artifice of specious rationalization; at any rate as something so far removed from all that is alive in history that it would hardly seem worth one's while to spend much effort on reading the stuff. In other words, should one really study Bartolus or Jacques de Révigny to learn something about what went on in fourteenth-century society?

This brings us to a third point, and one that must be taken more seriously. Every full-grown, smoothly worked out system of law is the product of a professional class of jurists. It presupposes a high standard of specialized teaching and a sure touch in the handling of cases. The relation between law school and practitioner may be shaped

in various ways in different civilizations, but only where it results in a stable and well-trained profession can the law come to a high standard of intellectual coherence and technical perfection. Without the jurisconsults of the late Roman republic and the early principate, without the university-trained clerics of the papal curia, the learned legists of the *Parlement de Paris,* and the lawyers of the Inns of Court, neither Roman nor canon, French, or English law would have become what they are. But the professional teaching of law and its handling by a closely-knit professional class makes for a specialized language and a style of its own: the more such a jurisprudence becomes an art in its own right, the less it will speak—in books or in briefs or in judgments—the language of the layman. This may lead to such artificial creations as the Law-Greek of the Byzantine jurists or the Law-French of the Tudor English (that jargon which is so delightfully illustrated in the report[5] on a case of contempt of court committed by a prisoner "que puis son condemnation ject un brickbat a ledit justice que narrowly mist"); it also may lead to the ugly, involved, and redundant verbiage which characterizes so many enactments that are on our statute books. But even such fine, straightforward maxims of law as *privilegia sunt odiosa,* or *en fait de meubles la possession vaut titre,* are hardly understandable to the non-jurist; our usual semantics will not help.

* * * *

The fact that one cannot simply open a law book and start reading without some instruction in the law itself remains, indeed, the most formidable barrier between legal history and the other historical disciplines; and the greater the technical perfection and professional elaboration of a given legal order, the greater will be the temptation for the general historian to leave it out of sight. He may feel up to understanding the Anglo-Saxon dooms or the ordinances of the Frankish kings, but when it comes to fourteenth-century Italy he will rather try to do without reading Bartolus or Baldus, unless there is a compelling reason to do so.

[5] Dyer's *Reports* (1688) p. 188*b* as quoted by F. W. Maitland, "English Law and the Renaissance" (1901), p. 142 of the reprint in *Selected Historical Essays,* edited by Helen M. Cam (Cambridge, England, 1957). For an example of Law-Greek cf. *Scholia Sinaïtica* (fifth century), 17: "ὁ κατὰ inquisitiona δοθεὶς ἐπίτροπος κἂν πάθῃ kapitis diminutiona μένει ἐπίτροπος."

Only in the field of constitutional history—and I have alluded to this before—do we find a somewhat different attitude. The constitutional historian has primarily to work with documents and texts which are so saturated with legal matter and legal terminology that any intelligent interpretation would be bogged down without some knowledge of the requisite legal conceptions. Constitutional history, and its near relative, the history of political theories, were the first disciplines with legal or semi-legal content to find a home also outside the law schools;[6] but even here the danger has always been present to interpret facts and documents and developments without an adequate mastery of the juristic element. Much Victorian fancy was spent on Magna Carta or the English Parliament in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries before the sure hand of a lawyer of Maitland's caliber gave modern studies on the growth of the English constitution new directions.[7] Similarly, if modern research in the constitutional history of ancient Rome is today still indebted to the genius of Theodor Mommsen, one of the reasons lies in that he brought to the task a mastery of the sources of Roman law which has been rarely equalled, never surpassed to this day.

Recent years have seen an important widening of the circle of legal texts in the extensive use made by constitutional historians of the writings of the mediaeval glossators and commentators of the Roman and the canon law. The trend is not new; one can trace it back at least as far as the studies on the history of political thought which Otto von Gierke in 1881 presented in the third volume of his *Deutsches Genossenschaftsrecht*. But Gierke himself was a jurist, and the non-jurists for a long time shied away from following this path beset with technical difficulties of many kinds. The structure and substance of Justinian's *Corpus iuris civilis*, and of the several collections that make up the mediaeval *corpus* of canon law, are not easy to penetrate for the uninitiated outsider, who first of all will not be familiar with the technical language of the books; the style and method of the glossators' writing present to the modern reader many added riddles and pitfalls

[6] Since the nineteenth century, chairs of constitutional history exist in the departments of history of many European universities, side by side with chairs of the history of constitutional law and political theory in the law schools.

[7] One may think in particular of his introduction to the edition of *Memoranda de Parliamento, 1305* (Rolls Series, 1893); for a recent appreciation cf. Helen M. Cam in her introduction to Maitland's *Historical Essays* (n. 5 *supra*), pp. xv-xx.

of interpretation.[8] However, the reluctance had to be overcome sooner or later, especially since the twentieth century saw a great number of new important texts from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries brought to light by the intensified manuscript research of legal historians in both laws. And once students of constitutional history, on the continent, in America, and in England, with courage and patience broke through the bristly shell of the unfamiliar material, they found themselves rewarded beyond expectation.

They found a good bit of straightforward political doctrine, but also more than that. For what emerged from the closely argued and highly technical discussions of the legal and administrative business of municipalities, monasteries, and cathedral chapters; of the rights and duties of co-guardians, co-proctors, or co-beneficiaries acting jointly and severally or jointly and in common—I say, what emerged from all this juristic detail involved in the interpretation of many scattered texts in the law books was a set of concepts, doctrines, and terms which recur, often in exactly the same language, in the documents on which our knowledge of the constitutional developments of the Middle Ages is based. This insight is, perhaps, one of the most significant contributions the present generation of constitutional historians has made in the past twenty years both in this country and abroad; and if I mention in this context the studies of Professor Gaines Post on representation in mediaeval assemblies,[9] Dr. Tierney's book on the *Foundations of the Conciliar Theory,*[10] or Professor Kantorowicz's recent work, *The King's Two Bodies,*[11] it will be apparent that mediaeval jurisprudence is no longer an uncharted no-man's land in at least one field of historical writing in the United States.

* * * *

We should stress one of the important results of such recent investigations: they have brought home the point that the technical detail of legal argument, the testing of legal concepts in concrete issues and cases, brings us closer to historical reality than the generalities of

[8] Cf. Kuttner, "Methodological Problems Concerning the History of Canon Law," *Speculum,* XXX (1955), 547-548.

[9] Cf. in particular his "Plena Potestas and Consent in Medieval Assemblies," *Traditio,* I (1943), 355-408, and "A Romano-Canonical Maxim, 'Quod omnes tangit,' in Bracton," *ibid.* IV (1946), 197-251.

[10] (Cambridge, England, 1955.)

[11] (Princeton, 1957.)

abstract theory ever will do. Abstraction always comes late in the development of law, and any valid insight into the guiding principles of a given legal order as a whole must rest on a working knowledge of its particulars. If we want to understand—to cite only one instance—the impact of Roman law on mediaeval and modern European civilization,[12] we must not fall into the grievous error of thinking that Roman law meant the same set of law books, institutions, and doctrines to all peoples at all times. We must realize that what was known during the early Middle Ages as *lex Romana* is based on several primitive, incomplete, and abridged compilations, and that, e.g., those which were used in Lombard Italy were quite different from those of Visigothic Spain and the Frankish kingdom. We must remember that Justinian's *Corpus iuris* became known in its fullness only from the late eleventh century on, and that in its analytical and systematic exploration by the schools of glossators and commentators a new jurisprudence was born—a renascence before the Renaissance and, perhaps, one of the most incisive events in the history of western civilization.

The fusion of this Roman law in scholastic garb with particular custom and statutory law during the later Middle Ages was a general European phenomenon, but by no means a uniform one, and it can be understood only by tracing it in all its details. The differences that existed from one particular country or jurisdiction to another, as regards royal powers of legislation, judicial practice, organized legal profession, and, to some extent, political and legal theory, were controlling factors in this complicated process of "Romanization" which took place at different times, with different speed, at different levels, and to a different extent in the countries of the European cultural community. In England, where the teaching of English law by practitioners developed at an early time in the Inns of Court, this process of Romanization ceased before it could penetrate to an appreciable extent. In France, on the other hand, where the members of the *Parlement* at Paris were university-trained but where the conditions for a unified national law were particularly favorable, a much happier balance betweeen *coutume,* royal ordinances, and Roman jurisprudence was reached than it ever was to be in the Holy Roman Empire of the

[12] For this and the following paragraphs, cf. Koschaker's book (note 4 *supra*), *passim;* also E. Genzmer, "Das römische Recht als Mitgestalter gemeineuropäischer Kultur," *Gegenwartsprobleme des internationalen Rechtes und der Rechtsphilosophie* [Festschrift für Rudolf Laun] (Hamburg, 1953), pp. 499-535.

German Nation, where the quarrels between Romanists and Germanists were to occupy lawyers' minds down to the time of the civil code of 1896.

It would be impossible within the limits of this paper to describe in detail what all this means for the concrete development of legal doctrines and legal institutions in the history of the few countries just mentioned; or to trace parallels and similar problems which we find in others; or to describe the totally different conception of Roman law which the age of humanism brought to bear on jurisprudence, at Bourges and elsewhere, and which once more had to undergo the test of amalgamation with living national customs and institutions. The Roman-Dutch law of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, among others, grew out of this new historical encounter, and we should not forget that, in this particular form of Romanizing practical jurisprudence, it is still today, generally speaking, the law of the South African Union.

In dwelling here on some aspects of the transformation which Roman law has undergone since Justinian's time I only meant to single out one instance, though an important one, of legal developments which at different stages of history were of great significance in shaping the life of society; developments in which the actual course of legislation, the work of the learned artisans of legal doctrine, the organization and functioning of the judiciary, the practice of the professional draftsmen of deeds and legal documents, are all to be investigated in their complex interrelation before we dare to make general historical judgments about a given legal system as a whole. Otherwise we shall have nothing but ignorance masked by a little knowledge and shall never hear the last of hackneyed generalizations on the "spirit" of this or that law; on the reception of Roman law being responsible for absolutism in continental Europe; on the English trial by jury as the builder of democracy, and the like.

Now I do not want to give the impression of holding a special brief for Roman law. Problems of legal history are with us in every area of historical research, ancient, mediaeval, and modern. They are of special importance whenever we study the encounter of different conceptions and systems of law. And as it happened with Roman law in the Hellenistic East or in mediaeval Europe, so also today this will often result in changes which are much more subtle than new legislation, because it is the modes of the professionals' legal reasoning and judicial practice, rather than statutory enactment, which will decide

the shape of a "new" law and determine the process of fusion. We need not even go to the Far East or to India to find how English common law doctrines have worked their way into basically different systems of law: the same can be observed in Scotland or Quebec; and here at home, Louisiana provides a striking example for a law based on the Napoleonic codification but fashioned in its practical development by the Anglo-American legal tradition.

* * * *

I must break off here without going into so many other legal problems that are, or should be, of interest to the historian; without even a word about canon law and its important role in the making of the Western World. But I do not want to conclude these remarks without saying that there are hopeful signs of a reawakening of historical interest among lawyers in the United States. The foundation in 1956 of an American Society for Legal History and of the *American Journal of Legal History,* now in its second year, would seem to mark a new departure. It is too early today to forecast which direction these new efforts will take; it is not too early to say that they call for the wholehearted co-operation of historians at large. The growing concern of American lawyers with problems of foreign and comparative law, in response to the practical needs of our day and age, may also lead to a greater awareness of the historical foundations of foreign legal systems and thereby give the study of legal history the universal scope which it needs.

These recent trends could well work toward a breaking down of the barriers that have too long existed between the study of law and the liberal arts. In 1950 the American Council of Learned Societies organized a well-prepared conference on "Law and the Humanities" with precisely this goal in mind.[13] Unfortunately, its very stimulating

[13] Dumbarton Oaks, April 12-13, 1950. The discussions of the first day were based on five papers previously distributed which had been prepared by E. Levy (on the reception of highly developed legal systems by peoples of different cultures, as illustrated by Visigothic law), S. Kuttner (on the interaction between secular and ecclesiastical institutions in the history of canon law), R. S. Lopez (on stages of development in commercial law, especially the law merchant of mediaeval Italy), S. E. Thorne (on Tudor social transformation and legal change), and K. Llewellyn (on the whole and the group in Anglo-American law). On the second day the present situation of the humanistic study of law and the outlook for its strengthening were debated.

proceedings were never printed, and thus the conference did not create much of a stir. But we may hope that the first effort was not the last and that the day may come soon when legal history will find its rightful place in American education and American learning.

The Catholic University of America

GENERAL CLARK'S NOMINATION AS AMBASSADOR TO THE VATICAN: AMERICAN REACTION

By
F. WILLIAM O'BRIEN*

On page 13733 of the *Congressional Record* for October 20, 1951, under the heading "Nominations—Diplomatic and Foreign Service," there appeared these lines: "General Mark W. Clark, Army of the United States, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the State of Vatican City." Simple and inoffensive as these words may seem, they, nevertheless, ignited a burning controversy which blazed throughout the nation for the ensuing three months. Seven years have passed since Mr. Truman sparked this conflagration with his nomination. By now, perhaps, passions have sufficiently cooled so that historians may undertake a more objective study of the event with a hope of determining the materials involved that rendered the issue so highly combustible. The following survey of contemporary comment attempts to capture the public reaction to this one small episode which dramatized so realistically the theoretical question of Church-State relations in the United States. The investigation confines itself to the period between October 20, 1951, when the president submitted General Clark's name for the Senate's confirmation, and January 13, 1952, the day on which the nominee asked that his name be withdrawn.

That the nation was mightily stirred by the president's action becomes clear from even a casual perusal of magazines and newspapers of the time. Practically all editorialized at least once on the subject in the early days of the period of controversy and subsequently they devoted many columns of news to the daily developments. Private citizens by the hundreds contributed to the contemporary comment with letters-to-the-editor.

* Father O'Brien, S.J., a member of the Department of Government at Georgetown University, is the author of *Justice Reed and the First Amendment* (Washington, 1958), and of several recent articles on constitutional law. General Mark W. Clark, an Episcopalian, was Chief of the Army Field Forces and had been in charge of the allied armies during the Italian campaign of World War II.

On the whole the secular press was favorably disposed toward having an American ambassador at the Vatican. The New York *Times* canvassed representative newspapers from all sections of the country that commented on October 21 or 22, and printed significant passages from editorials of twenty-one leading journals.[1] Besides the *Times* itself,[2] the following newspapers lent their support to the Clark appointment: New York *Herald-Tribune,* New York *Daily News,* Memphis *Commercial Appeal,* Detroit *Free Press,* Cleveland *Plain Dealer,* San Francisco *Chronicle,* Washington *Post,* and Portland *Oregonian.* Disapproval of varying degrees was expressed by the New York *Post,* Raleigh *News and Observer,* St. Louis *Post-Dispatch,* Washington *Evening Star,* and Chattanooga *News-Free Press.*[3] Although the *Times'* survey would seem to suggest a fairly even division, the *Christian Century,* in its report nine weeks later, lamented that the secular press, except for a few "honorable exceptions," did not oppose the Vatican appointment.[4]

Also worthy of record is the fact that of those secular papers evincing disapproval of the appointment, only a very few grounded their opposition on a belief that establishment of diplomatic relations with the Vatican would constitute an abridgment of the First Amendment to the Constitution.[5] It is true, indeed, that many were concerned lest

[1] New York *Times,* October 23, 1951.

[2] *Ibid.,* October 22, 1951. In addition to those mentioned in the *Times* survey, the following were reported as favoring the appointment: Louisville *Courier-Journal,* Louisville *Times,* Jackson (Mississippi) *Daily Times,* and Manchester *Union and Leader.* Cf. Robert A. Graham, S.J., and Robert C. Hartnett, S.J., *Diplomatic Relations with the Vatican* (New York, 1952), p. 10. The Boston *Globe* also seemed to lean toward the appointment (October 23, 1951) and the Washington *Post* of October 22, 1951, carried a long editorial highly approving the appointment.

[3] New York *Times,* October 23, 1951.

[4] *Christian Century* (January 30, 1952), p. 119. Another magazine devoted a complete issue to the Clark episode, and although entire editorials were reprinted —presumably ones reflecting its own hostile attitude to the appointment—it mentioned only five secular newspapers sharing similar views. *Liberty* (1st Quarter, 1952), pp. 52-54.

[5] The editor of the Pittsburgh *Catholic,* October 25, 1951, after a survey of the secular newspapers, wrote: "There is only minimum support for the claim that the Church-State principle has been violated; that idea, which seems to be an obsession with the Protestant ministers . . . just doesn't register, it is safe to say, in the average man's mind." Quoted in *Catholic Mind* (January, 1952), p. 1.

Protestant sensibilities be bruised and the nation become sharply divided over religious questions.[6] But this, of course, was an extra-constitutional reason for withholding assent. Some newspapers endorsed the Clark appointment, but did so with enthusiasm cooled by the political machinations which they allegedly perceived in the Truman action.[7] Others decried the general gaucherie which, in their eyes, marred the president's manner in carrying out a plan which, they admitted, had much merit.

The querulous editorial of the Boston *Herald* complained that a good thing had been done badly.[8] The Portland *Oregonian* wrote that our "historical separation of the ecclesiastical and the temporal" was not jeopardized, but it did question the president's good faith in making his nomination on the closing day of the congressional session.[9] The New York *Daily News* sharply criticized Mr. Truman for taking "this worthy step in a totally unworthy way, chiefly for his own failing political health."[10] Among its surmises *Newsweek* conjectured that the following reasons might well have prompted Mr. Truman's action: to please urban Democratic organizations; to put Senator Robert Taft on the spot; to rebuff members of Congress who had fought his programs—especially Senators Paul Douglas, Estes Kefauver, and

[6] It should be recalled that the political atmosphere of the period had become highly charged by several recent events, e.g., the dismissal of General MacArthur and the feuds of Mr. Truman with Congress over his program. Thus, with the presidential election brewing for 1952, every major action of the president drew thunderbolts of disapproval or was keenly scrutinized for political implications.

[7] The Minneapolis *Tribune*, October 23, 1951, made no mention of the "separation" argument, although it feared the division that would result. Cf. also editorials in the Chicago *Tribune*, October 23, 1951, and in the Washington *Evening Star*, October 23, 1951. The *Star* was not opposed in theory, seeing no violation of the "separation principle" and expressing approval of the grounds for the Taylor mission under Roosevelt. It felt, however, that Mr. Truman had aroused "a dormant issue" which would arouse feelings and negate the benefits. The cantankerous editorial in the *Tribune* merely showed its congenital aversion to all facets of the Democrats' foreign policy and imputed bad faith to the administration which sent aid to Iron Curtain countries while seeking Vatican relations, allegedly, to unite anti-Communist forces.

[8] Boston *Herald*, October 22, 1951.

[9] Portland *Oregonian*, October 22, 1951. But another west coast paper not only endorsed the appointment but perceived nothing worthy of criticism in Mr. Truman's action. San Francisco *Chronicle*, October 23, 1951.

[10] New York *Times*, October 23, 1951, quoting from the *Daily News*.

William Fulbright; to cement anti-red alliances.[11] In addition, wrote *Newsweek,* the president had acted contrary to diplomatic usage in not consulting the pope on his choice of nominee.[12] *United States News and World Report* circulated a rumor that Senator Tom Connally of Texas, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, "thinks the President was needling him when he named General Clark . . . a *persona non grata* in Texas."[13]

Other perceptive and sophisticated observers discounted the theory that Truman's action was the product of mean vindictiveness or cheap political connivance. *Time* pointed out that few if any Catholics would have voted against him had he simply been inactive on the Vatican mission, but by his affirmative policy he stood to suffer appreciably from Protestants, who constituted eighty per cent of the electorate.[14] Arthur Krock, the acute and knowledgeable analyst for the New York *Times,* disputed the charge that Truman had acted either ineptly or from a desire to put something over on the people by making his nomination in the waning hours of the congressional session.[15] On the contrary, Krock reasoned, "obviously Truman meant the nomination for suspension to give Congressmen a chance to test public opinion"

[11] *Newsweek* (November 5, 1951), p. 26. David Lawrence thought Mr. Truman played "adroit politics." Washington *Evening Star,* October 23 and 25, 1951. Doris Fleeson reported that the move was partly calculated to kill off potential presidential candidates in the Senate, so that Truman might be able to hand-pick his own, specifically Chief Justice Fred Vinson. *Ibid.,* October 23 and 26, 1951. The *New Republic* of October 26, 1951 (pp. 6-7)—as well as other journals—hinted that Mr. Truman intended to name a non-Catholic as postmaster general and hence aimed at blunting any Catholic criticism.

[12] *Newsweek* (November 5, 1951), p. 26.

[13] *United States News and World Report* (November 5, 1951), p. 26. Connally complained of Clark because he had "discriminated against and mistreated" Texas troops in Italy during World War II. New York *Times,* October 29, 1951. William S. White observed in his news story that Connally was up for re-election in Texas which, although historically Democratic, had voted against Smith, a Catholic, in 1928. *Ibid.*

[14] *Time* (October 29, 1951), p. 20. Cf. also Wilfrid Parsons, S.J., "Vatican Ambassador," *Sign* (December, 1951), pp. 22-24, who agreed substantially with this thesis. Others suggested that the nomination was made partly to silence the criticism of Senators Joseph McCarthy and Patrick McCarran, and many Catholics, that the Truman administration was "soft on Communism." New York *Times,* October 28, 1951.

[15] *Time* (October 23, 1951), p. 28.

before January 8 when they would reconvene after the October recess.[16] If this were not the explanation, concluded Mr. Krock, then it was "a riddle wrapped in an enigma and packaged in a mystery."[17] There were some misgivings that a military man had been nominated for the Vatican post, and it was reported that *L'Osservatore Romano* evidently tried to minimize the fact by referring to the nominee simply as Mr. Mark Clark.[18] But as far as Americans were concerned this was a consideration which appeared to weigh not at all in the debate.[19]

Other prominent laymen also expressed their minds on this *cause celèbre*. Edwin S. Corwin, distinguished professor emeritus of Princeton University, scouted the suggestion that the appointment would infringe upon the religious sections of the First Amendment, and he supported the president's action because of its "intrinsic reasonableness."[20] Practically every constitutional lawyer accepted the validity of Professor Corwin's exegesis of the First Amendment *vis-à-vis* the question of diplomatic representation at the Vatican.[21] Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., favored the establishment of the Vatican mission and displayed uncon-

[16] In his October 25 statement President Truman states that critics would have a chance to get their criticism off their chests. New York *Times*, October 26, 1951.

[17] Arthur Krock argued that Truman knew full well that only by a unanimous vote of the Senate could Clark be approved within the few hours before adjournment; that similar unanimity from the whole Congress would be necessary to amend an 1870 law barring military men from ambassadorial posts; and finally, that Clark was unwilling to retire from the army to allow for a recess appointment. New York *Times*, October 23, 1951.

[18] New York *Times*, October 23, 1951. Moscow was reported ready to capitalize on the fact that the United States had been appointing military men to diplomatic posts. General Walter Bedell Smith and Admiral Alan Kirk had been the last two ambassadors to Russia. *Ibid.*

[19] Dorothy Thompson, who seemed to approve of American-Vatican diplomatic relations, wrote that appointing a general "would indicate that the United States thinks of the Vatican as a strategical asset in impending war. Nothing could be more out of place. . . ." Boston *Globe*, November 7, 1951. This issue was not considered a major one by most commentators.

[20] "Letters to the Times," New York *Times*, November 12, 1951. Cf. also *ibid.*, October 21, 1951, p. 27, for a news report on the opinion of "authorities in constitutional and international law" who allegedly stated that "recognition of a country and the appointment of ambassadors or ministers have been deemed to be solely the President's responsibility."

[21] The National Council of Churches of Christ admitted that, upon consulting lawyers on the constitutional question, they had "received no opinions running

cealed disdain for the reasons advanced by opponents.[22] As for the arguments urged by Protestants hostile to the appointment, the Harvard historian made this almost contemptuous appraisal: "I find them so weak, I can hardly believe they are the real ones."[23] In company with these two renowned scholars, Arthur Bliss Lane, former American Ambassador to Poland, supported the appointment on the realistic ground that it would bring closer together the forces opposed to Communism.[24] Another non-Catholic diplomat, James G. McDonald, former United States Ambassador to Israel, likewise came out in favor of the appointment.[25]

Although the general run of the secular press and many individual Protestants of high repute supported the Clark appointment, the Protestant clergy were for the most part strongly opposed and lost no time in enkindling a militant spirit within their congregations. On Sunday, October 22, 1951, the day after the nomination had been made, Protestants ministers mounted their pulpits to deliver their denunciations. The Reverend Edward H. Pruden, Truman's Baptist pastor, declared at his morning service that he had done "all that was possible for anyone to do" to keep the president from sending Clark's name to the Senate on the previous day.[26] The Reverend Vere D. Loper, pastor of the First Congregational Church in Berkeley, California,

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counter to these," i.e., denying that the appointment could be attacked as violating the "no establishment" clause of the First Amendment. *Information Service* [weekly bulletin of N.C.C.C.], November 30, 1951. For pertinent excerpts, cf. New York *Times*, December 1, 1951.

Mark De Wolfe Howe of the Harvard Law School would appear to be the only scholar of stature who attempted publicly to challenge the Corwin thesis. Cf. his "Diplomacy, Religion, and the Constitution," *Nation* (January 12, 1952), p. 174.

[22] Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., "Relations with the Vatican: Why Not?" *Atlantic Monthly*, 189 (January, 1952), 55-56.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 55.

[24] "Letters to the Times," New York *Times*, October 26, 1951. Also strongly supporting the appointment and for this same reason, *inter alia*, were the newspaper columnists Constantine Brown, Gould Lincoln, and Lowell Mellett. Washington *Evening Star*, October 23, 1951.

[25] Reported by Graham and Hartnett, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

[26] New York *Times*, October 22, 1951. It is also of interest to note that the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, minister of the National Presbyterian Church in Washington, and later President Eisenhower's pastor, urged citizens to fight the nomination with letters to their senators. *Northwest Progress* (Seattle), December 1, 1951.

and national moderator of the Congregational Christian Churches, told his congregation that he had telegraphed the president: "Any recess appointment . . . will further the destruction of Protestant confidence in your administration."[27] In Boston's Tremont Temple Church, a Baptist minister, the Reverend Sidney W. Powell, asked his parishoners to write letters to President Truman.[28] And another Baptist clergyman in Watertown, Massachusetts, joined with 200 members of his congregation in signing a petition to the Senate.[29] In Philadelphia the President of the United Lutheran Church in America called upon Lutherans to voice "unrelenting" opposition to the nomination, and asked members of his church to write letters of protest to their congressmen.[30] The First Presbyterian Church in Providence heard its pastor declare that the appointment showed "the political chicanery of the Roman Catholic Church."[31]

Reformation Sunday, one week later, provided a fitting occasion for repeating these protests and, in many instances, for making more sharp attacks on the Catholic Church. In St. Louis, 10,000 Protestants attended a rally at which each person received a postcard for his message of protest[32] and ushers collected the postcards and deposited them in a specially provided giant mailbox.[33] The National Association of Evangelical and Protestant Congregations announced that notices had been sent to 8,000 churches asking them to have congregations sign petitions on Reformation Sunday,[34] and the same association reported that $500,000 worth of air-time had been used in three days.[35] The Reverend Robert A. McCracken demanded that the president use his high office to "safeguard" the "principles of the Reformation."[36] From the Methodist Ministers Meeting of Philadelphia and Vicinity went letters of protest to Mr. Truman and to the two Pennsylvania senators,[37] and the meeting also named a committee to plan for a protest campaign at the congregational level.

As the campaign moved on it gathered steam and displayed color and imagination. From Boston a Baptist pastor and his congregation

[27] New York *Times*, October 22, 1951.
[28] *Ibid.* [29] *Ibid.* [30] *Ibid.* [31] *Ibid.*
[32] New York *Tribune*, October 29, 1951.
[33] *America* (November 10, 1951), p. 147.
[34] New York *Tribune*, October 29, 1951.
[35] *Ibid.*
[36] *America* (November 10, 1951), p. 147.
[37] New York *Times*, October 30, 1935.

sent to Washington an eighty-five foot scroll bearing 1,776 signatures as a dramatic symbol of protest.[38] Later in January a "'pilgrimage," estimated variously at from one to four thousand in number, marched on Capitol Hill, thus bringing mass protestation to the very doorstep of Congress.[39] Showing a puzzling lack of logic, this pressure group flaunted banners which read "Keep Politics out of Church," "Church and State Do Not Mix," "Separation of Church and State." Having been refused an audience with President Truman, the "pilgrims" sought out Senator Connally as chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee and presented him with a petition carrying 50,000 names. Later at Constitution Hall the marchers heard the Reverend Carl McIntire, President of the International Council of Churches, decry "Spellmanism" and stigmatize Catholicism as an older and "shrewder enemy" than Communism.[40] A resolution was then passed "to work for the defeat at the polls of any man . . . disposed to undermine the Constitution."[41]

Threats of ballot-box reprisals against unco-operative congressmen came from many other Protestant organs. The *Christian Century* urged visits to each senator by "successive delegations at his home until he is convinced that his vote on the Vatican embassy will play a decisive role in his political future."[42] The *Christian Statesman*, although prophesying in a moment of deep melancholy that "Saturday, October 20th, will go down as Black Saturday in American life,"[43] rebounded with hope of redressing the infamy and urged its readers to "write to each Senator from your state. . . . What you write is not important just so you indicate that you are strongly opposed to the appointment."[44] The Reverend Stoddard Patterson, Congregational pastor of one of Milwaukee's oldest and largest churches, prodded his listeners to "vote for Protestants at the polls—Protestants who will uphold the Protestant traditions."[45] Even the National Council of Churches of

[38] Boston *Post*, January 7, 1952.

[39] *Time* (February 4, 1952), p. 9.

[40] *Ibid.*

[41] Boston *Globe*, January 26, 1952. In Baltimore, Dr. Albert E. Day, pastor of the Mount Vernon Place Methodist Church, had his congregation of 800 rise in assent to his protesting resolution read during church services on October 21, 1951. Chicago *Tribune*, October 22, 1951.

[42] *Christian Century* (October 31, 1951), p. 1244.

[43] *Christian Statesman* (November, 1951), p. 4.

[44] *Ibid.*

[45] Boston *Pilot*, November 11, 1951.

Christ encouraged Protestants to bring pressure on Congress, although its suggestions were less crudely expressed than that manifested in the accounts given above. Its *Reference Manual* contained a complete roster of senators and representatives as well as the names of members of all congressional committees.[46] In addition, it outlined seven specific methods whereby readers might bring their opinions directly to the attention of the president and of congressmen.[47]

On January 12, 1952, the *Nation* carried a full page ad of the organization Protestants and Other Americans United for the Separation of Church and State, part of which read thus:[48]

> Please find enclosed my check for the amount indicated. I wish to do my part in support of your campaign to prevent the consummation of the appointment of an Ambassador to the Pope as head of the Roman Catholic Church. $1000 - $3.

The ad also advised interested readers that "your gift is deductible on your income tax."[49] Energetic activity of this nature encouraged Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam to venture a political augury before an audience in Akron, Ohio, that the Clark nomination "may well determine the 1952 election."[50]

It is impossible to mention all the Protestant clergymen and official bodies who protested the action of President Truman to send an ambassador to the Vatican. The National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States on January 17, 1951, issued a statement—reissued again after the October nomination of General Clark—in which it asserted that "nearly every major Protestant group in the nation has taken action opposing any kind of diplomatic relationship with the Vatican."[51] Included in the Council's *Reference Manual,* published in November, 1951, were critical protestations from eighteen national bodies of Protestants made from 1946 to October 29, 1951.[52] In addition, the *Manual* quoted relevant passages from statements of eight leaders representing national groups, all denunciatory of the

[46] *Reference Manual on U. S. Diplomatic Representation at the Vatican* (New York, 1951), pp. 33-39.
[47] *Ibid.*, p. 32.
[48] *Nation* (January 12, 1952), p. 20.
[49] *Ibid.*
[50] As reported in the Boston *Pilot,* November 3, 1951.
[51] *Reference Manual. . . .*, p. 35.
[52] *Ibid.*, pp. 16-20.

specific appointment of General Clark.[53] Reference should also be made to the militant figure of Paul Blanshard, irrepressible and tireless opponent of the Vatican mission,[54] whose provocative article in the *Atlantic Monthly* ran the complete gamut of anti-Catholic charges.[55] He also was a member of a group of speakers who, according to *Time*, aimed at reaching 100 major audiences in ten weeks, culminating in a P.O.A.U. meeting in Washington on January 24, 1952.[56]

In brief, what were the basic arguments upon which Protestants developed their case against the appointment of General Clark as ambassador to the Vatican? A study of the contemporary comment reveals that the major premise in most sermons and statements of protest was that the action somehow violated the religion provisions of the First Amendment, "if not in letter at least in spirit," to quote

[53] *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.

[54] Some may object to including Mr. Blanshard in this section treating of Protestant opposition. Many respected Protestants have evinced increasing embarrassment and chagrin over the fact that he is associated with their cause. Recently the Reverend Dr. Russell Henry Stafford, President of the Connecticut Council of Churches and of the Hartford Seminary Foundation, stated that Blanshard "appears to me to be a secularist." The council had previously dissociated itself from Mr. Blanshard. Boston *Pilot*, January 25, 1958.

Henry R. Luce, editor of *Time*, *Life*, and *Fortune*, is reported to have made a similar indictment: "Blanshard does not show any real interest in any form of Christianity." He suggested that he "frankly declare himself to be a secularist, void of all interest in the supernatural." Denver *Register*, December 23, 1951. Dorothy Thompson may well have had Blanshard in mind when she wrote: "Some anti-Catholic books reveal no indication that the authors are Christians at all." Cf. the Boston *Globe*, November 7, 1951, for her article on the Vatican appointment.

[55] Paul Blanshard, "One-Sided Diplomacy," *Atlantic Monthly*, 189 (January, 1952), 52-54. Regarding the nature of Blanshard's anti-Catholicism, a non-Catholic author stated in a recent book: "Certainly Blanshard's virulent attacks against the Church are reminiscent of the hysterical anti-Semitic propaganda that the Nazis engaged in." Currin V. Shields, *Democracy and Catholicism in America* (New York, 1958), p. 70. John Cogley, formerly a feature editor of the *Commonweal*, remarked that every Catholic spokesman "from the crudest defender of the faith to Jacques Maritain" is in agreement on Mr. Blanshard, looking on him "the way Jews regard Gerald L. K. Smith." Cogley, "The Catholic Problem," *Look* (February 12, 1952), p. 24.

[56] *Time* (December 10, 1951), p. 77. The July, 1951, issue of P.O.A.U. *Newsletter* announced that "thousands of P.O.A.U. recent circulars showing Myron Taylor (the President's personal Vatican representative) kneeling before the Pope . . . are being distributed widely." *Church and State Newsletter* (July,

the influential *Christian Science Monitor*.[57] Thousands of highly inflammatory addresses, as well as many statements more sober and urbane, made reference to the principle of separation of Church and State. It is difficult to ascertain whether anyone with even a rudimentary understanding of the subject seriously believed that the appointment was "an establishment of religion"—prohibited by the First Amendment. Nor is it easy to know if many really feared that "the free exercise of religion"—another constitutional guarantee—was placed in imminent or even remote peril. Certain it is, however, that thousands viewed the appointment as some form of preferential treatment for the Catholic Church.[58]

As has been indicated above, the secular press for the most part displayed little concern with the separation of Church and State argument, while eminent constitutional lawyers scouted protestations against the Vatican mission premised on First Amendment clauses. The period of the Clark dispute was in its first week when misgivings over use of the argument were engendered even within the powerful National Council of the Churches of Christ.[59] Expert lawyers who were consulted advised that the appointment could not be attacked as unconstitutional "unless it could be shown to interfere with the freedom of our people at home," and that it was not "one step in the direction of the establishment of a United States Church." And the council announced, "We have received no opinions running counter to these." Another consideration prompted the N.C.C.C. to view the "separation" protest as a dangerous two-edged sword.[60] Upon mature reflection, the council came to realize and frankly admitted that "pushing the constitutional argument too far would logically open the way for a curtailment of privileges that most religious bodies take for

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1951), p. 1. For quotations from several other Protestant sermons, cf. the Washington *Evening Star*, October 22, 1951.

[57] *Christian Science Monitor*, October 23, 1951. But experts were quick to point out that, in the opinion of constitutional lawyers, the president has the sole power of recognizing foreign governments. Therefore, it seems that the United States had already officially "recognized" the Vatican immediately upon Mr. Truman's nomination of General Clark. Cf. *United States v. Curtis-Wright Export Corporation*, 299 U.S. 304 (1936); New York *Times*, October 21, 1951. The First Amendment would not apply to his action.

[58] *Christian Science Monitor*, October 23, 1951; also *supra*, n. 46.

[59] New York *Times*, December 1, 1951; also *supra*, n. 21 for N.C.C.C. bulletin.

[60] *Ibid.*

granted," i.e., church tax exemptions, chaplains for the armed services, etc. Protestants were urged, therefore, to retreat from the "wall" argument,[61] and to rest their opposition on grounds of public policy rather than on constitutional law. In other words, the Vatican appointment should be opposed only because it was a policy without merit and one calculated to cause unseemly division.[62]

Actually, there appears to have been no appreciable shift of ground subsequent to this call to move the offense to different terrain. Throughout the entire campaign Protestants employed the same array of arguments, some novel and ingenuous, but most of them receiving "invisible radiation" from the inflammable phrase "separation of church and state." Bishop Oxnam conjured up a frightening image for delegates of the N.C.C.C., meeting in Atlanta, when he said that "affairs of state will be graced by a cleric in sacerdotal robes."[63] The *Christian Statesman* feared that the Vatican representative might affect the government's policy relative to education in this country.[64]

The foregoing survey should not lead to the belief that Protestants all raised one united voice of disapproval against diplomatic relations

[61] Many people employ the metaphor "a wall of separation between church and state" as a gloss on the clause which says "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion."

[62] The *Christian Century* lectured N.C.C.C. for its "political expediency" in shifting to this new policy. Cf. *Christian Century* (December 19, 1951), p. 1451; (January 16, 1952), pp. 74-75. In the latter, the editor rebutted an explanation made by an N.C.C.C. official in a letter to the magazine. Those who argued against the merits of the proposal attempted to prove, *inter alia*, that the Vatican had not been able to supply the United States government with information of substantial worth, and that all the alleged benefits could be realized through other channels, i.e., the American ambassador to Italy.

[63] New York *Times*, November 29, 1951. Cf. also Bishop Oxnam's frenzied and hysterical article, "Down the Road to Rome," *Nation* (November 3, 1951), pp. 368-369. P.O.A.U. warned that "the U. S. Constitution is in danger of being reduced to a mere scrap of paper which will have interest only to historians." Cf. *Church and State Newsletter* (July, 1951), p. 1, a P.O.A.U. publication.

[64] *The Christian Statesman* (November, 1951), p. 4. Even a Protestant of the stature of Henry P. Van Dusen, President of Union Theological Seminary, resorted to some sharp recriminations against the Vatican. "Letters to the Times," New York *Times*, November 21, 1951. He also thought that the appointment constituted an "official recognition of the Roman Catholic Church as a political power . . . contrary to the most deeply cherished convictions of the American people."

with the Vatican. Three faculty members of the Yale Divinity School, e.g., wrote that "not all Protestants oppose this appointment. We, as Protestants, support it," and they added that "the President's action is not a threat to separation of church and state."[65] The *Living Church*, a "high" Anglican journal, denied that the appointment would "jeopardize the American doctrine of church and state," and they urged that the matter be considered "on its merits."[66] Dr. Abba Hillel Silver of Cleveland, a noted leader of the Jewish faith, saw "no reason why the United States should not have a diplomatic representative" at the Vatican,[67] and the Reverend Charles E. Park, minister-emeritus of Boston's First Church (Unitarian), asserted that Mr. Truman's action was "an important move to make friends throughout the world."[68] *Christianity and Crisis* editorialized in the following vein:[69]

> The Protestant outcry that this is a clear threat to the separation of church and state overshoots the mark. . . . The Protestants seem so much guided by emotion that they make a poor choice of issues for major emphasis.

These examples are sufficient to indicate that a number of Protestant groups either approved the appointment or at least disavowed the arguments commonly advanced by its opponents. However, most official bodies spoke out unequivocally against any kind of diplomatic recognition of the Vatican by the United States. Whether the official statements issued represented or misrepresented, reflected or refracted, the opinions of individual Protestants is a question to which we shall return later.

In contrast to the rising crescendos of Protestant protests against the Clark appointment, Catholic opinion, for the most part, seems to

[65] "Letters to the Times," New York *Times*, October 24, 1951.

[66] Editorial in the *Living Church* (November 4, 1951), p. 11. This journal refuted many "church-state" polemicists by pointing to our diplomatic relations with Israel, "virtually as theocratic a state as is Vatican City." The editorial, nonetheless, thought that the president's action was "unwise" and "poorly timed."

[67] New York *Times*, October 22, 1951.

[68] *Ibid.*

[69] "The Vatican Appointment," *Christianity and Crisis* (November 26, 1951), p. 153. One Protestant magazine proposed a personal representative from the president to the Vatican as a happy solution to the problem of how to derive the benefits without sacrificing our "traditions." "The White House and the Vatican," *Christian Register* (December, 1951), p. 12.

have been expressed *pianissimo*. There were surely some instances in which Catholic writers pitched their voices higher and spoke with more volume,[70] but the thundering Protestant chorus was often provocative of something more than responses uttered in a bondsman's key and humble whispering. Among those who expressed themselves on the issue, none, so it would appear, actually opposed the Clark appointment, although there was little public rejoicing.[71] As far as can be ascertained there were no Catholic mass meetings, no official pronouncements, no evidence of priests using the pulpits to urge their flocks to pressure congressmen toward favoring the president's action. The late John F. Noll, Bishop of Fort Wayne, influential founder of the widely read *Sunday Visitor*, declared that the issue had never arisen in any of the annual meetings of the hierarchy that he had attended for twenty-six years.[72] Both Cardinal Spellman of New York[73] and Archbishop Richard J. Cushing of Boston[74] expressed support for the appointment, whereas Bishop George L. Leech of Harrisburg spoke as follows on the matter:[75]

> I . . . have my own opinion on this question and my reasons for it, and I think my opinion would surprise Mr. Blanshard; but that is my own business as a citizen, and I assume that our priests and people and our neighbors have their own opinions, as they ought to have, and that they make them known as they want to.

Bishop Albert R. Zuroweste of Belleville, while seeming to approve of the appointment, charged Catholics "not to fight with your non-Catholic neighbor over this issue."[76] Bishop John J. Swint of Wheeling, in a statement read from all the pulpits in his diocese, expressed sympathy with his people for the sharp attacks they had suffered, but

[70] Cf., e.g., the column of James M. Gillis, C.S.P., "Sursum Corda," in *Northwest Progress* (Seattle), November 23, 1951, and Matthew Smith's "Listening In," Denver *Register*, November 3, 10, 17, 24, 1951.

[71] Graham and Hartnett, *op. cit.*, p. 10; *America* (February 9, 1952), p. 596.

[72] Brooklyn *Tablet*, January 19, 1952.

[73] New York *Times*, January 17, 1952.

[74] *Ibid.*, October 23, 1951.

[75] Brooklyn *Tablet*, January 19, 1952. But welcoming the nomination were Bishops Matthew F. Brady of Manchester and John J. Wright of Worcester. Chicago *Tribune*, October 21, 1951. Another supporter was Bishop James L. Connelly of Fall River. Boston *Globe*, October 21, 1951.

[76] *Tablet*, November 3, 1951.

cautioned Catholics against retorting, and explained "why we have not answered."[77]

The most accurate epitome of general Catholic sentiment, perhaps, came from the pen of the late Daniel A. Lord, S.J., a much-travelled writer with a hand on many pulses in the United States. He stated,[78] "As an American, I should like to see an Ambassador to the Vatican. As a Catholic, I and the overwhelming number of my Catholic fellow citizens are notably unconcerned." The Jesuit magazine *America*, while viewing the appointment as "a measure for the common good," did not look upon the first step toward Vatican representation as "ground for unrestrained rejoicing."[79] This journal, moreover, agreed that the method used by Mr. Truman had been inept and had exposed him to hostile charges of political motives.[80] From the opposite side of the country the weekly paper of the Archdiocese of Seattle sniffed politics in the president's action.[81] And although the *Northwest Progress* envisaged benefit for the nation from Vatican relations if they were "viewed objectively," it expressed serious fear, however, "that the cause of world peace and the prestige of the United States as well as of the Catholic Church will not be served"—largely because the Kremlin would exhibit the resulting American confusion and disunity as naturally engendered by religion. The Brooklyn *Tablet* likewise discerned politics as well as clumsiness in the president's action, and, while it supported the appointment, this Catholic paper lamented "the bitterly hostile reaction . . . from many non-Catholic ministers, with the ill-will engendered."[82] The New York *Catholic News* expressed similar regrets, although it gave stronger endorsement of the plan for Vatican representation.[83] The *Commonweal*, a weekly magazine edited by Catholic laymen, lent its support to the Clark appointment and scouted the charge that Mr. Truman's action was merely a display of "crude political maneuvering."[84]

[77] *Ibid.*, November 3, 1951.

[78] "Along the Way," Boston *Pilot*, January 19, 1952.

[79] *America* (November 3, 1951), p. 118.

[80] *Ibid.*

[81] *Northwest Progress*, October 24, 1951.

[82] Brooklyn *Tablet*, October 27, 1951.

[83] New York *Times*, October 31, 1951.

[84] *Commonweal* (November 2, 1951), p. 84. The writer added that, "if the United States chooses not to recognize the Vatican's political sovereignty, then no liaison between the two should be tolerated since this would clearly be some-

As for the Vatican itself, no official comment was forthcoming, although the *Osservatore Romano* wrote on October 22 that the nomination "marks the happy resumption of relations already established under a different form in 1939."[85] Two months later the experienced New York *Times* correspondent, Anne O'Hare McCormick, wrote a revealing story from Rome.[86] The proposed appointment, she observed, "causes much less excitement at the Vatican than in the United States." Although the move was viewed as "logical," she wrote, "church officials have nothing to say on . . . any aspect of the matter," since the Vatican's attitude is "that it is strictly the business of the United States." Nonetheless, "it is understood" as being "the view of the Pope himself" that "it would be better not to have an Ambassador than to stir up sectarian feeling" in the United States.[87]

It would be interesting to know exactly what were the sentiments of the ordinary citizenry to the proposd Vatican appointment. Strangely enough, Americans, although a poll-plagued people on other subjects, were not asked their opinion on the Clark issue. There is, however, some indication that the country in its native condition was not particularly combustible even in the near presence of the so-called "burning" question of diplomatic relations with the Vatican. The following suggests as much. On August 11, 1950, fourteen months prior to the Clark nomination, the American Institute of Public Opinion conducted a poll on the question of a personal representation from the president to the Vatican.[88] The idea was judged "good" by forty-five per cent, "fair" by five per cent, "poor" by thirteen per cent, while "no opinion" was given by thirty-seven per cent. A Minnesota poll, limited to that state alone, revealed that as of July 2, 1950, forty-two per cent favored the Taylor mission, whereas thirty-nine per cent registered their dis-

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thing less than separation of church and state." Cf. Professor Schlesinger's comment in reference to the constitutional argument: "I would be in favor of establishing diplomatic relations with any spiritual leader who wields as much temporal power as the Pope," *op. cit.*, p. 56.

[85] Washington *Evening Star*, October 23, 1951.

[86] New York *Times*, December 24, 1951. Mrs. McCormick also pointed out that, since all other nations accredit their representatives to the Holy See, it was felt that the United States should do the same, and not send its delegate to the pope as ruler of Vatican City.

[87] This, of course, was the same sentiment expressed by American Catholics who approved the appointment when viewed objectively.

[88] "Public Polls," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XIV (Winter, 1950-1951), 804.

approval.[89] On December 9, 1951, when Minnesotans were polled specifically on the Clark appointment, forty-six per cent listed themselves as opposing it, while thirty-two per cent expressed their approval.[90] Of the Protestants who answered this December questionnaire fifty-seven per cent were against formal diplomatic relations and nineteen per cent in favor of establishing such relations. This represented a striking contrast to the 1950 poll when thirty-two per cent of the Protestants answered "yes" to the Taylor mission and thirty-seven said "no." Evidently the campaign of the Protestant clergy, intensified in late October of 1951, had been effective. Some Catholics had also been disaffected; whereas seventy-six per cent had favored the Taylor representation, only seventy-one per cent now approved of the Clark appointment.

Within two-and-one-half days after the Clark nomination the White House announced that it had received 965 telegrams of protest and 165 of approbation.[91] Such a reaction did not dismay administration officials who noted that within forty-eight hours of Mr. Truman's recall of General Douglas MacArthur from Korea in the previous spring an avalanche of 5,000 telegrams had fallen upon the White House, seventy-five per cent of which condemned the dismissal.[92] Moreover, considering the widespread appeal made from Protestant pulpits on October 21 for personal protests, the 800 telegrams would seem a rather meagre harvest.

Considerably more significance should be attached to the many unsolicited letters which appeared in newspapers and magazines across the country. These communications generally represented the independent and sober judgment of individuals who probably felt no stampede from Protestant leaders. The large percentage favoring the Clark appointment—many from men of prominence—indicated that

[89] *America* (December 22, 1951), p. 325. Myron C. Taylor was President Roosevelt's personal representative to the Vatican from 1939 to 1945. Mr. Truman continued the mission until Taylor's resignation effective August, 1950. A large secular newspaper in Minneapolis conducted the poll.

[90] *Ibid.* This poll offered an opportunity for giving a qualified answer; only one per cent added any qualification, most of these distinguishing between an ambassador and a personal representative.

[91] New York *Times*, October 24, 1951. Within a week Joseph Short, White House press secretary, reported that 5,000 letters and telegrams—the majority in opposition—had been received. *Ibid.*, October 29, 1951.

[92] *Ibid.*, October 24, 1951.

Protestantism was by no means one huge mass of unleavened opposition, and suggested that something less than full faith be given to those Protestant clergymen who prefaced their protestations with claims to represent so many millions of their spiritual communicants.[93] The response provoked by the *Atlantic Monthly,* which published the much discussed articles of Professor Schlesinger and Paul Blanshard, likewise merits close scrutiny. The former article, which favored representation at the Vatican, elicited twenty-four letters of approval, whereas Mr. Blanshard's sharp attack moved only ten congenial pens.[94]

Reflection on the above data, and on the stand taken generally by the secular press,[95] might well lead to the conclusion that the "divisive" Vatican appointment was an issue not nearly so deep nor so wide as some presumed it to be. If at times the question does seem to have set the country ablaze, there are strong grounds for suspecting that it might have been due more to incendiarism than to any spontaneous combustion. Many respected Protestants of good will were chagrined and embarrassed by the arsonists among them and were at pains to rebuke their irresponsible tactics. *Christianity and Crisis,* [96] e.g., contrasted "the restrained statement of the National Council of Churches of Christ" with "the frenzy of *The Christian Century* and of many a preacher." "Protestants," it continued, "seem so guided

[93] Cf. various statements in *Reference Manual on U. S. Diplomatic Representation at the Vatican* (New York, 1951), pp. 14-22, and quotations cited in Washington and New York papers, *supra,* nn. 1, 26, 27, 34. Baptist Harold Stassen sent the following wire to a Baptist group in 1947 relative to resolutions passed in that year: "I do not agree with the two resolutions which the press reports that you have passed on the questions of diplomatic representation at the Vatican and the Supreme Court decision (Everson case) on school buses." Cf. Harold E. Fey, "Why They Behave Like Southern Baptists," *Christian Century* (May 21, 1947), pp. 648-649.

[94] The March, 1952, issue (pp. 22-23) carried only a few of these letters, but Charles Morton, managing editor of *Atlantic Monthly,* kindly allowed this writer to read all thirty-four.

The articles by Blanshard, "One-Sided Diplomacy," and Schlesinger, "Relations with the Vatican: Why Not?" appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly,* 189 (January, 1952), 52-56.

[95] For the references to the secular newspapers indicating their opinions, cf. *supra,* nn. 1-5, 7-10.

[96] *Christianity and Crisis* (November 26, 1951), pp. 153-154. Cf. also Reinhold Niebuhr, "Catholicism and Religion: Some Misconceptions," *Reporter* (January 22, 1952), pp. 9-11; Dorothy Thompson in Boston *Globe,* November 7, 1951.

by emotion that they make a poor choice of issues for major emphasis." Of course, in some highly respected Protestant circles, the Vatican appointment was treated with calm reason and solely on its merits. But in most cases this issue was submerged in a welter of attacks upon Catholicism as such. Moreover, as explained above, political considerations existing at the time inhibited many uncommitted minds from giving the issue a fair hearing.

Defeat for the appointment must, then, be attributed to a multitude of causes, although chief among these was clearly the issue of religion. At any rate, on January 13, 1952, following eleven weeks of controversy General Clark asked that his name be dropped from consideration for the ambassadorship.[97] In view of President Truman's promise to submit another nomination later,[98] Protestants vowed continued vigilance.[99] But, as the weeks wore on and no such action was taken, their militancy waned and the national temper cooled. Although a vindictive shot was occasionally heard here and there, the heavy barrage had ceased, and rejoicing was fairly general among Americans of all religious faiths that a sad spectacle had come to a close.[100]

Georgetown University

[97] New York *Times*, January 14, 1952.
[98] *Ibid.* [99] *Ibid.*, p. 10.
[100] The Catholic author, Theodore Maynard, wrote that "American Catholics were not in the least surprised or disappointed that the project fell through." Cf. his *The Catholic Church and the American Idea* (New York, 1953), p. 269.

MISCELLANY

THE THEODORE ROOSEVELT LETTERS TO CARDINAL GIBBONS

Edited by
JOHN JOSEPH GALLAGHER*

The Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore contain more than 100 letters bearing the signatures of fifteen American presidents from Washington to Eisenhower. The largest single group is composed of thirty-one original letters from Theodore Roosevelt, all but two of which are directly addressed to James Cardinal Gibbons.[1] In view of the centenary observance of Roosevelt's birth (October 27, 1858), it has been thought that these letters would be of more than ordinary interest. The letters range over a period of almost seventeen years from September 24, 1901, to August 15, 1918; that is, from less than a month after McKinley's death to less than five months before Roosevelt's own death. In addition these archives contain three telegrams from Roosevelt; two photostatic copies of Roosevelt letters: one to Mrs. Bellamy Storer (December 5, 1896); the other to her husband[2] (November 27, 1900); and a typed copy of a lengthy letter sent to the cardinal as the President of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions (November 8, 1906). The Storer letters are printed in Elting E. Morison's edition of *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*[3] (I, 568; II, 1445). Reference will be made hereafter to the typed letter on Indian affairs.

All the original letters and telegrams are reproduced below. Unless otherwise noted the letters are typed and originate from the "Executive

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[1] Claes Van Roosevelt (d. 1742) was a common ancestor of Theodore Roosevelt and of Archbishop James Roosevelt Bayley, who obtained Bishop Gibbons of Richmond as his coadjutor and hence as his successor in the premier See of Baltimore (1877-1921).

[2] Bellamy Storer, a Catholic convert and a Cincinnati lawyer, first went to Congress in 1891. Under Roosevelt he was Minister to Brussels and Ambassador to Vienna. In 1906 a serious rift occurred in the previously cordial friendship between Roosevelt and the Storers.

[3] (Cambridge, 1951-1954), 8 vols. The letter of April 26, 1904, is also found in Morison *op cit.*, IV, 779-780.

Mansion" or the "White House" in Washington. Those addressed to Gibbons begin with "My dear Cardinal (Gibbons)," and are signed "Theodore Roosevelt."

September 24, 1901

In thanking through you Cardinal Moran[4] and those whom he represents in Australia, permit me to add a word of my regard for you and my appreciation of your attitude. I hope to see you later on.[5]

With hearty thanks,

Faithfully yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

October 5, 1901

I think there will shortly be a vacancy in the chaplains in the army, to which I should like to appoint a priest. Can you recommend one?[6]

I suppose I need hardly say that I want the very highest type of man—one who would be a credit to the service, to the country, and to his church, and who will with single-hearted purpose endeavor to better the moral and material condition of the men in the service, and care for them in every way.

With great regard,

Sincerely yours . . .

[4] Patrick Francis Moran, Archbishop of Sydney (1884-1911), cabled Gibbons to express the horror of Australian Catholics at the assassination of President McKinley and to convey sympathy to the American government. Gibbons availed himself of the occasion to voice the hope that Roosevelt's administration would be "creditable to yourself and will redound to the material prosperity of our beloved country" (Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore—hereafter: AAB—99-B-2, September 20, 1901, copy). Gibbons' Diary notes the sending of this letter and also the receiving of a "grateful acknowledgment" (AAB, September 20, 26, 1901).

[5] This last sentence is handwritten. Late in the next month, Roosevelt and the cardinal had a long conversation on complex Church-State matters in the Philippines. On this point and others involving the two leaders, cf. John Tracy Ellis, *The Life of James Cardinal Gibbons*, 2 vols. (Milwaukee, 1952), especially II, 110-127.

[6] Gibbons replied that he would take immediate steps to select a qualified priest, and would call to pay his respects when the president was more at leisure (Library of Congress, Division of Manuscripts, Roosevelt Papers—hereafter: LC, RP—October 7, 1901). Later correspondence consulted does

Personal December 13, 1901

I shall gladly take up at once that case with the Secretary of State.[7] There are, however, four or five applications pending which I fear must be disposed of first in any event, as I have been committed to them; but I will at once look up the matter.

Sincerely yours . . .

Personal March 22, 1902

I thank you very much for your letter. I have a high opinion of Mr. Hill.[8] He has, however, hardly the political standing and prominence which I should like in the place. It may be, however, that I will be able to take him.

Sincerely yours . . .

Oyster Bay
Long Island, N. Y.
Sagamore Hill
September 15, 1902

Let me thank you most heartily for your kind and thoughtful note.[9] It was characteristic of you to send it. I hope to see you as soon as I return to Washington. With great regard,

Faithfully yours . . .

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not reveal Gibbons' choice, but three Catholic chaplains were appointed to the army in March, 1902: Francis Doherty, a Paulist; Patrick Carey of New York; and James A. Dalton of Philadelphia. Cf. Dom Aidan Germain's *Catholic Military and Naval Chaplains 1776-1917* (Washington, 1929), pp. 137-138.

[7] John Hay (1898-1905). This letter seems to be the somewhat puzzling response to Gibbons' note approving as very desirable the contemplated sending of a United States representative to the Vatican on the knotty problem of the friars' lands in the Philippines (LC, RP, December 10, 1901). William H. Taft eventually headed the American commission to the Vatican.

[8] Gibbons had recommended a Mr. George William Hill as a Civil Service Commissioner (LC, RP, March 18, 1902). The pertinent congressional directories show no evidence of his appointment.

[9] This letter is in Roosevelt's hand. Gibbons had written of his rejoicing that the president had escaped serious injury in an accident in Pittsfield, Massachusetts. The cardinal quoted from the Psalm, "The Lord ruleth me," numbering it XXIII according to the King James' Version. (LC, RP, September 11, 1902.)

Personal November 8, 1902

I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you as soon as I get back to Washington on the 24th. Can't you make it convenient to come over some time the following week; and then I can go over all those questions with you.[10]

Faithfully yours . . .

Personal December 1, 1903

The enclosed letter from Commissioner Smith[11] strikes me as so admirable as to be worth your looking at, and I take pleasure in sending a copy of it to you.

Trusting that you are well, I am, with high regard,

Sincerely yours . . .

January 20, 1904

I was greatly interested in the address of the Cardinal Archbishop of Capua which you sent me,[12] and am pleased that he should have found something to quote from me. Moreover, my dear Cardinal, I was equally pleased with your personal note.

As soon as Governor Taft comes home[13] I must see you to talk over two or three matters of some importance.

With renewed regard,

Sincerely yours . . .

[10] On November 6, 1902, the cardinal had written to recommend Mr. William H. Dennis of Washington as a candidate for judge of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia (LC, RP). Once again the pertinent congressional directories show no evidence of his appointment.

[11] James F. Smith was a Catholic member of the Philippine Commission and a future governor general of the islands. Late in 1903 he reported to the president on his efforts to establish a school system and challenged the critics of his policies. Gibbons answered that he read the enclosure with profound interest and satisfaction (LC, RP, December 2, 1903).

[12] On January 18 Gibbons, presuming Roosevelt's acquaintance with Italian, sent him a discourse of "my friend" Cardinal Capecelatro, Librarian of the Holy Roman Church. This letter but not the discourse appears in the Roosevelt Papers in the Library of Congress under the date given, January 18, 1904.

[13] William Howard Taft, first civil Governor of the Philippines (1901-1904), was returning to America late that month to take up his duties as Secretary of War (1904-1908).

Personal April 26, 1904

I have seen Mr. Waring,[14] but I do not wish to recommend him to the Commission until I find out if they act favorably upon my recommendation of Mr. Dominick I. Murphy.[15] I might easily wear my welcome out.

Will you permit me to say one thing referring to our recent correspondence concerning Bishop Hendrick's[16] appeal? You have recently signed a petition asking that we shall promise ultimate independence to the Filipinos.[17] Of course, the promise of ultimate independence would mean nothing to the Filipinos unless they construed it, as they certainly would, to mean independence within a very few years. If such a promise was made by us one of the first consequences would be that the position of Bishop Hendrick and the other American Bishops would grow literally intolerable. The agitation of the petition for ultimate independence is playing directly into the hands of the men who are intriguing against Bishop Hendrick and the other Bishops, and renders just so much more difficult the task of Governor Luke Wright and the Government behind Luke Wright in trying to protect Bishop Hendrick and his colleagues.

Sincerely yours . . .

[14] On April 22 the cardinal informed Roosevelt that Mr. Duncan Waring, a candidate for the post of disbursing officer of the Isthmian (Panama) Canal Commission, had been highly recommended to him "by gentlemen whose judgment I value" (LC, RP). Again, the pertinent congressional directories show no evidence of his appointment.

[15] Mr. Dominic (not Dominick) Murphy was a prominent Catholic publicist and philanthropist. Later in 1904 he was appointed first secretary of the Isthmian Canal Commission. Mention might be made here to Morison's reference to "Roosevelt's frequent and startling departures from the norm of accepted usage in spelling" (*op. cit.*, I, xix). Cf. also notes 24 and 36.

[16] Thomas A. Hendrick of Rochester was Bishop of Cebu from 1903-1909. In his Diary on April 19, 1904, the cardinal notes that he received a cablegram from the bishop requesting him to ask Roosevelt to protect the Church in the Philippines quickly. Roosevelt answered promptly that he had no knowledge of the cause of the complaint, but he would make immediate inquiries and report to the cardinal (Diary, AAB, April 20, 1904).

[17] The following day the cardinal expressed apologies for any misunderstanding his signature might occasion. "I should deeply regret to do anything that would, in the smallest way, embarrass you in your delicate task and formidable burden of maintaining peace and order in these Islands." (LC, RP, April 27, 1904.)

November 15, 1904

Your letter[18] really pleases me, and I thank you for it and for all your courtesy and kindness during the three years that have passed.

I hope to see you next Sunday at the exercises at St. Patrick's Church.[19]

Sincerely yours . . .

Personal November 30, 1904

There are now vacant two chaplaincies in the army and there will soon be vacant a chaplaincy in the navy, all three of them to be filled by members of your church. I should like to have both the West and the East represented, and so I have written a similar letter to Archbishop Ireland.[20] Can you make any recommendations to me? I need not tell you that I desire men of the highest stamp—young men who are gentlemen and can associate with officers, and yet who will remember that their chief duty must be done with the enlisted men. Such men as Fathers Gleeson and McDonald, now in the navy—such a man as Father Vattmann,[21] who has just left the army, are very nearly ideal in their positions; and I earnestly hope that any new man appointed will be as nearly as possible of their grade.

Believe me, my dear Cardinal,

Most sincerely yours . . .

P.S. Would you be willing to communicate with Archbishop Farley[22] and see if there is any one he has in mind?

[18] Gibbons, on November 14, 1904, congratulated Roosevelt on his election to a second term. "I pray God that your administration may redound to the peace, prosperity and development of our beloved country and to your own greater honor" (AAB, 101-P-7, copy).

[19] On November 20, 1904, Gibbons and Roosevelt attended the 110th anniversary celebration of this, the oldest Catholic church in the capital.

[20] John Ireland, Archbishop of St. Paul from 1884 to 1918, was a warm friend of Roosevelt.

[21] Commander Matthew C. Gleeson, from the Archdiocese of New York, was the first Fleet Chaplain of the U. S. Navy. He was cited by Roosevelt for valor shown aboard the *U.S.S. Missouri* during an explosion in early 1904. (Cf. Germain, *op. cit.*, p. 145). Commodore Eugene McDonald of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia later served aboard the *U.S.S. New York* during World War I (*ibid.* p. 145). Major Edmund Vattmann of the Diocese of Cleveland was an outstanding chaplain of the regular army who served in the Spanish-American War, in the Philippines, and returned to service during World War I (*ibid.*, p. 136).

[22] John Farley, Archbishop of New York (1902-1918).

Personal December 9, 1904

Archbishop Ireland has just sent me a recommendation for Father Waring,[23] also recommended by Archbishop Kane,[24] for one of the two vacancies in the Army. It would seem desirable to give this vacancy to the West and the other one to the East. If you do not object I will accordingly have Father Waring appointed, and wait until I hear from you for the other man to put in from the East.

Faithfully yours . . .

June 3, 1905

Your letter pleased me very much. I felt sure you would like Bonaparte's choice.[25] With high regard,

Sincerely yours . . .

Personal Oyster Bay, N. Y.
August 12, 1905

In reference to the letter to you from Mr. Charles S. Lusk,[26] which I herewith enclose, I have written the Secretary of the Interior[27] as follows:

"I am desirous that the question of renewing for the current fiscal year the contracts for what are known as the tribal fund schools, Catholic and Protestant, be settled immediately. If there is any doubt

[23] Major George J. Waring, English-born priest of the Archdiocese of Dubuque, served in the army from 1905-1920. (Germain, *op. cit.*, p. 139.)

[24] John J. Keane (not Kane) was Bishop of Richmond (1878-1888), first Rector of the Catholic University of America (1887-1896), and Archbishop of Dubuque (1900-1911).

[25] Writing from St. Patrick's in Washington on June 3, 1905, Gibbons expressed great satisfaction in the appointment of Charles J. Bonaparte, a distinguished Baltimore lawyer, as Secretary of the Navy. It was at Bonaparte's home in January, 1891, that Roosevelt first met Gibbons. "The latter was very entertaining," he wrote shortly afterwards, "—the cultivated Jesuit [*sic!*], with rather kindly emotions and a thorough knowledge of the fact that his church must become both Republicanized and Americanized to retain its hold here." (Morison, *op. cit.*, I, 237.)

[26] Lusk was secretary of the Bureau of Catholic Missions. For some time the American Government had directly subsidized missionary educational work among the Indians. When this policy came under fire, Roosevelt decided that the Indians who so desired could allot private tribal funds to support religious schools for their children. In 1908 the Supreme Court sustained the legality of Roosevelt's view.

[27] Ethan A. Hitchcock (1898-1907).

CHURCH, STATE, AND LABOR AT WILKESBARRE

Cardinal Gibbons, President Roosevelt, and John Mitchell, head of the United Mine Workers, at an open-air mass meeting of the U.M.W. and the Catholic Total Abstinence Union, Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, August 10, 1905.

about the constitutional right of the Department to make these contracts pray submit the matter to the Attorney General[28] immediately, as I understand the Commissioner of Indian Affairs has recommended."

I will let you know as soon as I hear from this matter.

It was a very great pleasure to see you at Wilkesbarre.[29]

Sincerely yours . . .

Personal February 15, 1906

I have your letter of the 11th instant, with enclosure from Archbishop Harty.[30] Anything coming from you will have my careful consideration, but I must say that the opening sentence of Archbishop Harty's statement gives me a prejudice against the whole article. He says, "From the time of American occupation of the Philippines the Catholic Church has been harassed and confounded with an apparently studied purpose on the part of the Government of the United States to control as its own if not to confiscate outright great charities of undoubted private origin."

Now it is difficult to speak with any patience of this statement. It is simply untrue. On the same page the Archbishop continues: "The military chieftains of the United States coming here in time of war" manifested "persistent opposition to the Catholic faith." This statement again is simply untrue. Many of these men themselves are Catholics. Weston, for instance, who when Wood[31] leaves the islands will succeed

[28] William H. Moody (1904-1908).

[29] On August 10, 1905, Roosevelt, Gibbons, and labor leader John Mitchell attended an open-air mass meeting of the United Mine Workers and the Catholic Total Abstinence Union at Wilkes-Barre.

[30] Jeremiah J. Harty was Archbishop of Manila from 1903 to 1916. When Gibbons forwarded Harty's statement to Roosevelt, he wrote, "I am satisfied that by sustaining the just claims of the Archbishop of Manila, you will strengthen and consolidate the authority of the American Government, for the Church will be the guardian and promoter of peace and good order in the islands." (LC, RP, February 11, 1906.) Upon receiving Roosevelt's reply, Gibbons wrote to Harty that the president was "evidently displeased with the severe tone of the paper" (AAB, 103-D-10, February 27, 1906, copy). Then the cardinal wrote to the president, allowing that Harty had not written "in his usual style" (AAB, 103-D-12, February 28, 1906, copy). This complicated affair, which ties in with the Aguinaldo Insurrection and the Aglipayan Schism in the Philippines is treated at length in F. J. Zwierlein's *Theodore Roosevelt and Catholics, 1882-1919* (Rochester, 1956).

[31] Generals John Francis Weston and Leonard A. Wood.

him in control of the whole archipelago, is a Catholic, a good American soldier and a good American citizen, and I can guarantee that his administration will not be found to differ in the slightest particular from the administration of his predecessors. I have just appointed and the Senate has just confirmed a devout Catholic, Smith,[32] who himself went to the islands at the head of a California regiment, to be Governor of the Philippines.

As I say, my dear Cardinal, the opening page of the Archbishop's article is so unfortunately worded, and contains in a brief space so many statements that are at variance with the facts, that I do not feel as though much good could be done by the article itself. Nevertheless, I shall go over the matter very carefully with Taft, and if he deems wise I shall send it to Smith to study on the ground any of the statements that need study, and will then examine him in person on the subject as soon as he reaches the United States; for he intends shortly to take a holiday.

Sincerely yours . . .

P.S.[33] A rather hasty glance over the article seems to show that it is a protest against the submission of the issues raised to an impartial court consisting of four catholic Judges, one an American, and three non-catholic Judges; from their judgement an appeal lies to the Supreme Court of the United States. This seems to me to put the writer in the wrong from the beginning.

Personal March 3, 1906

I thank you for your kind and courteous letter. I at once took up the Apostolic Delegate's letter[34] with Taft, Root,[35] and Bonaparte; and with Bourke Cochrane.[36] They agreed that all that can be done with

[32] On Smith, cf. note # 11.

[33] This postscript is handwritten.

[34] On February 28, 1906, the cardinal sent on to Roosevelt a letter from Archbishop A. Ambrose Agius, O.S.B., Apostolic Delegate to the Philippines (1904-1911), presenting his estimate of the damage claims due to the Philippine Church as a result of American military occupation of ecclesiastical buildings and properties. (AAB, 103-D-12, copy.) "I have no knowledge whatever of the merits of the case. I submit it to your sense of justice and benevolence." In March, 1908, Congress awarded $403,030.19; in April, 1910, an additional $49,372.50 was allotted to several religious orders. The total was considerably less than the delegate's estimate.

[35] Elihu Root was Secretary of State from 1905 to 1909.

[36] Bourke Cochran (not Cochrane) was a Catholic Democratic congressman from New York.

any wisdom at present is when the report comes on to try to get Congress to appropriate the amount actually awarded, and make the recommendation in such language as not to estop ourselves from requesting a further appropriation afterwards, for Taft feels that there is an equitable right to an additional appropriation for the benefit of the Church. Of course, my dear Cardinal, I have not the slightest idea whether Congress will act favorably upon the recommendation.

Sincerely yours . . .

October 27, 1906

The enclosed copy of letter of Commisisoner Leupp[37] explains itself. You will see that there is only one case that we have to deal with—that of the Menominees—and that there must be a new petition circulated among them. I will make this new petition for one year or five years as your Board may desire; but I suggest that you go carefully over the considerations mentioned by Commissioner Leupp before deciding.

With great regard,

Sincerely yours . . .

January 23, 1907

I have your letter of the 21st instant. In case of a vacancy in the Catholic chaplains, Father Doran[38] will have careful consideration; but I am not aware that one is about to occur. There was a very good Boston priest recommended to me, whose looks I liked. If a vacancy occurs I would like to go over with you or submit to you the names of two or three candidates and get your views about them relatively to each other. I want to get just as many men as possible of the stamp of Father Gleeson in the navy.

Sincerely yours . . .

[37] Francis E. Leupp was Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Gibbons sent Roosevelt a letter claiming it was impractical and unnecessary to ask the Indians who wanted their children to attend church schools to renew their contracts at that time; he further asked that the contracts be made thereafter on a five-year basis instead of annually. (AAB, 104-G-6, November 1, 1906, copy.) Roosevelt replied that the new petition was legally necessary, but that the contracts could subsequently be made on the longer term basis (AAB, 104-G-10, November 8, 1906, copy). This lengthy reply, which begins "My dear Sir" was most likely not written personally by Roosevelt himself.

[38] Michael G. Doran of New York was appointed to the army in 1908. A Neil P. Brennan of Boston was made a chaplain in 1907. (Germain, *op. cit.*, pp. 140, 139.)

April 3, 1907

I have your letter of the 2nd instant recommending the appointment of George Merrick Tisdale[39] for an appointment at large to the Naval Academy. I will at once take up the case and see if I am able to make the appointment. As you know, my dear Cardinal, these appointments are made by me competitively among the sons of army and navy officers and of a few enlisted men, and I have to compare the claims of each one on his merits, as far as I can get at them, as compared with the various others. Thus where two or more candidates are recommended for the same year by you or anyone else, these very men compete with one another, so to speak. I try in each case to follow a certain kind of rough system, giving the preference first to the boy whose father was killed in the service, or whose father died of disease contracted in the service in the Philippines or Cuba for instance; then to the boy whose father has performed very conspicuous feats in the service; then to the boy who has had a long line of ancestors in the service, &c., &c. But of course it is not possible to make any of these rules hard and fast. I *try* to do substantial justice.[40]

With high regard, believe me,

Sincerely yours . . .

Oyster Bay, N. Y.
August 10, 1907

This will introduce to you a very dear friend of mine, Mr. John A. McIlhenny, of Louisiana, at present Civil Service Commissioner, and formerly a member of my regiment. He is one of the leading men of his State and I hope you will find yourself able to do what he requests.[41]

With high regard, believe me,

Sincerely yours . . .

[39] The sources consulted do not identify this person.

[40] This sentence is handwritten.

[41] McIlhenny, a Catholic, was engaged to a non-Catholic and wished to have the wedding ceremony performed in a New Orleans Catholic church. Gibbons interceded for McIlhenny with Archbishop James H. Blenk of New Orleans (1906-1917), but the request was disallowed as contrary to the prevailing regulations.

October 24, 1907

I thank you for your letter.[42] I shall give it the most careful consideration and go over it with Mr. Bonaparte. With great regard,

Faithfully yours . . .

THE OUTLOOK[43]
287 Fourth Avenue
New York
May 19, 1911

My dear Father Belford:[44]

That's fine! I shall certainly try to come, and will unless I have an engagement I cannot break. What is the date in June? I understood it was to be in October. Can you let me know as soon as possible the exact date? On June 7th I have to be in Vermont.

Faithfully yours . . .

The Cardinal is a trump; and I earnestly desire to do him honor.

Sagamore Hill
September 17, 1911

I much appreciate your kind letter.[45] When I was told that you might be in my neighborhood I did hope that you might possibly take lunch with me; but I would not on any account have had you come so long

[42] The sources consulted do not indicate the subject matter of this letter. The phrase "With great regard" is inserted in script.

[43] In 1908 Roosevelt decided to write twelve articles a year for *The Outlook*, a weekly journal of opinion which then most closely reflected his political beliefs. He retired as associate editor in 1914.

[44] Father John L. Belford, then pastor of Nativity Church in Brooklyn, had been pastor of St. Dominic's Church in Oyster Bay from 1895-1900, and had become closely acquainted with the whole Roosevelt family. Apparently he was chosen to write Roosevelt the invitation to the cardinal's jubilee (cf. note # 46). The last sentence in the body of the letter and the postscript are handwritten.

[45] This letter is in Roosevelt's script. On September 12 Gibbons had written thanking Roosevelt for his presence and warm words on the occasion of the cardinal's double jubilee celebration in Baltimore the previous June. Gibbons said he had been visiting at Southampton in August and would have paid a call at Oyster Bay had his health permitted the fifty-five mile journey at the time. (AAB, 109-O-5, September 12, 1911, copy.)

a journey only for that purpose. Had I possessed a speedy touring car I should myself have run over and begged a lunch from you!

My dear Cardinal, few things gave me greater pleasure than to attend your jubilee; you are an American whose life has meant much to your country and whom all good Americans should delight to honor.

May we have you with us for many years.

Faithfully yours . . .

THE OUTLOOK
New York
November 21st, 1911

I have just received the book of the celebration.[46] I thank you for it. My dear Cardinal, I am very glad that I was one of those who took part in the jubilee, for it is a good thing to have been concerned in honoring an American citizen who has so signally honored America, and who by his life, by his works, and by his words, has taught us just what America stands most in need of learning.

Very sincerely yours,

Chicago, Ill.
October 17, 1912

Deeply touched by your words of sympathy.[47]

Chicago, Ill.
October 17, 1912

Greatly appreciate your telegram. Good luck to you always.

[46] This letter also is in Roosevelt's hand. The book referred to was the privately printed *History of the Great National Demonstration Held in Baltimore, June the sixth, 1911 In Honor of Cardinal Gibbons To Commemorate the Fiftieth Anniversary of his Priesthood and the Twenty-fifth of his Elevation to the Cardinalate* (Baltimore, 1911).

[47] Campaigning in Milwaukee for the presidency, Roosevelt survived an assassin's bullet. To the Chicago hospital where he was taken, Gibbons wired that he was "Shocked at attempt of your assassination. Rejoice in prospect of speedy recovery. May God preserve your valuable life" (AAB, 111-B-4, October 15, 1912, copy). Apparently by mistake, two telegrams were sent in reply.

METROPOLITAN[48]
432 Fourth Avenue
New York
August 11, 1916

I so very much regret that it was not possible for you to have me to lunch on Thursday. Unfortunately it was my one free day. Therefore I shall have to, for the time being, deny myself the pleasure of paying my respects to you. I suppose it would be too much to hope to see you at Sagamore Hill. I need hardly say, my dear Cardinal, how great my pleasure would be if you were able to come.

I wish as an American most cordially to thank you for what you have said about obligatory universal service.[49] Not only is that the only proper and democratic system, but it would be of incalulable [*sic*] benefit to all of our men in time of peace; for it would train them when young to habits of cleanliness, self-respect, self-reliance, respect for proper authority, obedience; it would serve as an antiseptic to the very worst traits of our people.[50]

With the heartiest good wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours . . .

METROPOLITAN
New York
August 12, 1916

My dear Father Belford:

Will you hand the enclosed[51] to his Eminence. I suppose it would be entirely formal for me to ask him to come over to lunch with me. I need not tell you how much I should enjoy having him as my guest.

[48] Since 1914 Roosevelt had been writing articles for this popular magazine of the time.

[49] Writing the same day to Charles Evans Hughes, Roosevelt asked, "Did you see that Cardinal Gibbons has come out for obligatory universal service?" (Morison, *op. cit.*, VIII, 1099.)

[50] Answering this letter from Southampton, New York, the cardinal regretted not knowing Thursday was Roosevelt's only free day. "I would have cancelled my engagement here, because all must yield to 'royalty'. . . . Never were you more honored and never was your influence greater, than today." (AAB, 117-J-7, August 19, 1916, copy.)

[51] The letter immediately above.

My word about the newspapers had to do, of course, only with the statement of my coming in advance. It would have been impossible, and, as far as I am concerned, undesireable [*sic*] to have prevented its being known that I had lunched with the Cardinal; but if it had been known in advance, the enterprising press would have been present with cameras, and would have insisted that there was some dark and deep political significance in the visit which warranted a supervision that would do credit to the German in Belgium.

Faithfully yours . . .

Sagamore Hill
December 16th, 1916

Indeed I most gladly send the dollar, and wish it were more. I wish a Merry Xmas and many Happy New Years of usefulness for the boys of St. Mary's Industrial School;[52] and I trust that you, my dear Cardinal, will be spared for many years to continue as our country's most loved and venerated citizen. With all good wishes.

Faithfully yours . . .

Oyster Bay
Long Island, N. Y.
January 5, 1917

I have received your book,[53] and I am so pleased at your thought of me. I need hardly repeat, my dear Cardinal, that, taking your life as a whole, I think you now occupy the position of being the most respected, and venerated, and useful citizen of our country.

With all good wishes,

Faithfully yours . . .

[52] St. Mary's Industrial School in Baltimore, run by the Xaverian Brothers, was a favorite of the cardinal's. "Babe" Ruth was among its graduates. The letter is handwritten.

[53] The book referred to is most likely Gibbons' *A Retrospect of Fifty Years*, 2 vols. (Baltimore, 1916).

Oyster Bay, N. Y.
April 7, 1917

With all my heart I thank you as an American for your noble and patriotic appeal.[54]

METROPOLITAN
New York
May 31st, 1917

I value very greatly your telegram.[55] Believe me, if I could accept such an invitation I would do so at once in view of your writing me, but I just do not see how it is possible at this time. I am very sorry.

With high regard,

Faithfully yours . . .

Oyster Bay
Long Island, N. Y.
July 23rd, 1918

Your telegram touched me very deeply. You know how I believe in you, and it meant much to have you think of me and mine. Two of Quentin's brothers have been wounded in France.[56]

Faithfully yours . . .

[54] This telegram came in response to a newspaper statement made on April 5 by the cardinal as Congress moved to declare war on Germany: "In the present emergency it behooves every citizen to do his duty and to uphold the hands of the President and the legislative department in the solemn obligations that confront us." (AAB, 118-T-10.)

[55] On May 29 Gibbons had wired, "Would respectfully urge your acceptance to come to Baltimore" for a Liberty Loan rally (LC, RP). It was at a similar rally in Baltimore, September, 1918, that the famous picture was taken of Gibbons embracing Roosevelt.

[56] On July 17 Roosevelt received news that this son Quentin had been shot down behind German lines. Quentin's brother Ted had been gassed once and was then hospitalized with a leg wound. Another brother, Archie, had been badly wounded by a shell. The sources consulted fail to reveal the text of the cardinal's telegram.

THE KANSAS CITY STAR[57]
347 Madison Avenue
New York
August 15th, 1918

I have just seen your public allusion to my boys, on the occasion of your 84th birthday.[58] You don't need to be told the respect and admiration I have for you; and therefore your words about my four sons are very dear to me.

Faithfully yours . . .

[57] In October, 1917, Roosevelt began writing regularly for the *Star,* his column and by-line appearing about once a week.

[58] In an interview reported in the Baltimore *Sun* on July 24, 1918, the day after his birthday, the cardinal expressed sympathy to Colonel Roosevelt and his wife in the death of their son. "I know of no man more willing to suffer and sacrifice for our country than Theodore Roosevelt." Roosevelt died the following January 6.

BOOK REVIEWS

GENERAL CHURCH HISTORY

The Steadfast Man. A Biography St. Patrick. By Paul Gallico. (New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc. 1958. Pp. 238. $3.95.)

In his *Confessio,* written shortly before his death, St. Patrick says: "Although I am imperfect in many things, I nevertheless wish that my brethren and kinsmen should know what sort of person I am, so that they may understand my heart's desire." Distressed that the myths and legends of intervening centuries have given rise, among those of Irish ancestry everywhere including Ireland, to a "wholly false picture" of their patron saint, Paul Gallico describes his book as "an attempt to present St. Patrick somewhat as he was—or might have been—from his own testimony and the little, backed by evidence, that is truly known about him." As principal quarries for the material from which to carve the true image of St. Patrick, Mr. Gallico uses, and adds to his volume as an appendix, Professor Ludwig Bieler's translations of the two great, authentic Patrician documents—the saint's *Confessio* and his *Letter to the Soldiers of Coroticus.* The emerging figure is that of one who possessed indomitable purpose and compelling spiritual power, along with sincerity, faith, confidence, and utter subjection to God. *Par excellence* a man of action, tireless in his travels, fearless in preaching the Gospel, St. Patrick is revealed as somewhat sensitive to criticism and inclined to be scornful of men of book learning. The author, delineating an honest, fair-minded, unvengeful Patrick, is at pains to lay the ghost of the "counter-Druid and God-magician" of folklore and legend, of the vengeful and irascible old man stumping the country bestowing curses in equal measure with blessings.

Pointing out that, aside from the two documents mentioned above, all the sources of the saint's life were compiled or written at the earliest some 200 years after the subject's death, Mr. Gallico makes no attempt to establish with finality such facts as the exact dates and places of St. Patrick's life and death, the extent of his formal education, whether or not he actually founded the primatial See of Armagh. The author does give, often through ingenious and sometimes almost tortuous deduction from his scanty reliable sources, a readable account of St. Patrick's early years, of his coming to Ireland, and of his prodigious missionary efforts, preaching, converting, founding churches, selecting, and educating a native clergy.

It may surprise many readers to know that to Patrick the Irish all his life remained barbarians, his writings referring frequently to the fact

that he lived among them only because of his love of God and his duty of winning converts. Others will be disappointed to know that there is no reliable evidence to connect St. Patrick with the shamrock as a symbol of the Trinity, nor with the banishing of snakes from the Emerald Isle. The author demonstrates considerable literary skill in evoking the atmosphere of what he calls "the wells and mountains of Patrick," the sites familiar to the everyday life of the saint, to his work, to his little rest, and to his prayer. All in all he does an admirable job of bringing alive the vigorous, dynamic apostle of the Irish, to the purity and Catholicity of whose beliefs and to whose steadfastness of purpose there is traceable through the centuries a quality unique to Irish Catholicism and the Irish Church. Mr. Gallico's book boasts an impressive bibliography, although there are no footnotes, and the author seems to lean most heavily, aside from the Patrician documents, upon *The Tripartite Life of St. Patrick* edited by Whitley Stokes which appeared in 1887. There is an index.

EDWARD J. DUNCAN

Newman Foundation
University of Illinois

The Liturgical Drama In Spain. By Richard B. Donovan, C.S.B. (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies. 1958. Pp. 229. $5.50.)

This Yale dissertation continues to explore a large area of mediaeval culture practically untouched in this country since the late Karl Young's *Drama of the Medieval Church* (1933). In the early ninth century musicians in France began interpolating notes, then words, into parts of the Mass-text, as e.g.,

> ITE nunc in pace, Spiritus sanctus super vos sit, iam MISSA EST.
> DEO semper laudes agite, in corde gloriam et GRATIAS.

By the early tenth century this grew into a question-and-answer that is still reflected in the Easter Sequence:

> Dic nobis, Maria, quid vidisti in via?
> Sepulcrum Christi viventis . . . gloriam resurgentis.

When the additional idea of impersonating the characters speaking had been added, all the ideas were at hand to permit dramatic liturgy to grow into liturgical drama, at the Mass or the afternoon vespers, etc. The original *Vesitatio sepulchri* of Easter day (quite widespread by 1000 in France, England, and Germany) led to a similar *Peregrinus* playlet for Easter Monday, etc. In the eleventh century the idea led to a development of similar "playlets" for Christmas and its attendant festivities.

The drama here studied was from the outset an accessory feature of the Roman Rite. Under Charlemagne Catalonia had been freed from the Saracens, and drawn somewhat into Francia by being attached to the Metropolitan of Narbonne. In the first half of the ninth century the Abbey of Sta Maria at Ripoll stood in closest association with the well-springs of this drama. As Spain was gradually liberated from the Moors, it was also being brought under the scope of the Roman Rite, the Mozarabic Rite being prohibited for Castile by the Council of Burgos in 1080. From that time until the Reformation liturgical drama was seeping over the country in the advanced styles then current elsewhere.

While this drama, as liturgy, was generally brought to an end by the reformed liturgical books requested by the Council of Trent, some strange survivals lasted almost until the twentieth century; the author instances an Easter play written and endowed by St. Francis Borgia, as Duke of Gandia in 1550, that managed to escape complete suppression until 1865 (p. 143). Even in days of magnificent typography one seldom sees a more attractive book than this dissertation.

GERALD ELLARD

St. Mary's College
St. Mary's, Kansas

Medieval Religious Houses: Scotland. By D. E. Easson. (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., Inc. 1957. Pp. xiii, 204. $10.25.)

When in 1953 David Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock edited *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales,* a companion volume for Scotland was promised. It has now appeared. This Scottish *Monasticon* covers approximately the period 1050-1560. Following the lines of the English counterpart, Dr. Easson has listed the religious establishments of each order in Scotland giving all pertinent information concerning location, dates of foundation and dissolution, as well as estimated income in 1561, i.e., at the Reformation. The lists are supplemented by notes briefly indicating some highlights of the history of each authenticated house. Unlike the English volume, doubtful or spurious foundations are not directly included in the lists but, because of their greater number, are appended separately after each section thus eliminating much confusion. Listings of hospitals, cathedral and collegiate chapters of secular canons, and secular academic colleges as well as surviving monasteries of Celtic origin, principally of Culdees (which persisted until the early fourteenth century) are also included. Since the religious establishments of the Isle of Man did not appear in the English *Monasticon,* the author has listed them separately in a special appendix to the present work.

By way of introduction Professor Knowles has written a brief foreword in which he discusses the position and significance of Scottish monasticism in the over-all picture of the mediaeval Church in northwestern Europe. There are also two well written preliminary chapters by Dr. Easson. The first, entitled "Res Monasticae," is a critical summary and evaluation of all previous work on Scottish monastic history from the thirteenth century to the present. An outline of the origins and historical development of the religious life in Scotland is found in the second preliminary chapter, "The Development of Monasticism in Scotland." The introductory material also contains a nine-page listing of bibliographical sources. A useful index of the monastic houses as well as three excellent maps of all religious establishments by R. Neville Hadcock conclude the work.

Although Scotland has produced numerous collectors of records and ecclesiastical historians, compilers of a classic *Monasticon* have been lacking. Even the frequently quoted Spottiswoode made use of many uncritical sources and already his contribution is two centuries behind the times! *Medieval Religious Houses: Scotland*, therefore, assumes the position of being the first authoritative compilation of Scottish religious institutions to be based on currently available sources and records. The contents may be open to some criticism and errors may have inadvertently been made but, nevertheless, Dr. Easson's work stands as a fundamental reference to all interested in mediaeval ecclesiastical history. It is a beginning, and as such is open to amendment and eventual amplification. As in any work of this type small bits of new evidence will be unearthed and continual revision will be necessary. But the very presence of *Medieval Religious Houses: Scotland* will facilitate such further research.

ARMAND J. JACOPIN

Saint Joseph's College for Women
Brooklyn

"Dignitas Decani" of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin. Edited by Newport White (Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission. 1957. Pp. xxvii, 205. £ 2-0-0.)

St. Patrick's Cathedral, one of the architectural glories of Dublin, was started shortly after the English occupation of Ireland at the end of the twelfth century. One of its literary treasures is a collection of charters and other documents called *Dignitas Decani*. As is well known, Jonathan Swift's title of "dean" comes from his association with this cathedral, and he was probably responsible for the fine copy of these documents made on vellum during his tenure of office. The chapter at St. Patrick's was established probably in the year 1206. It is evident from the early charters of the sovereign pontiffs, the Kings of England, and the Arch-

bishops of Dublin that they wanted the canons there to raise the moral and intellectual standard of the clergy and the laity, for in the late Middle Ages Ireland was no longer the "land of saints and scholars." To enable them to fulfill their choral and other duties without any financial worries or outside interference, they provided the members with generous grants of land and many privileges and immunities.

A number of the later charters show how zealously the canons of St. Patrick's defended their property and their rights. Three documents showing the beginning of Maynooth College in 1518 are of particular interest. A letter from the canons attached to the cathedral of Salisbury, England, whose constitutions served as a model for those in Dublin, give us a very fine insight into the things that the cathedral clergy in England and Ireland were allowed and forbidden to do. The *Dignitas Decani* also mirrors the swift-moving religious changes in England and Ireland under Henry VIII, Mary, and Elizabeth. The last charter in point of time was signed by King Charles I in 1640.

Some of these documents—most are in Latin, but a few in French and English—have already been published, but the books in which they are found are either out of print or not easily accessible. Hence it was a wise decision of the Irish Manuscripts Commission to request the late Newport White to edit all of them in a single volume. I think, however, that it would have been better to have arranged them in chronological order. The constant skipping back and forth from century to century becomes rather annoying. But this is only a minor flaw in a work that is a credit to Irish scholarship. Father Aubrey Gwynn, S.J., has written a splendid introduction, and there is also a complete index of persons and places.

STEPHEN MCKENNA

Santa Maria University
Ponce

Alexander of Villa Dei, ECCLESIALE. Edited with Introduction, Notes and English Translation by L. R. Lind (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press. 1958. Pp. x, 155. $4.00.)

From a single thirteenth-century manuscript Professor Lind has edited the metrical *Ecclesiale* of Alexander of Villa Dei. One of the great grammarians of the Middle Ages with his *Doctrinale,* Alexander drew up this *computus* as a description of the liturgical year together with a discussion of the method for determining the annual date of movable feasts. He evidently intended to provide a handbook of ready information for priests in regard to their duties of public worship. The editor's main concern here was to present a readable Latin text. The critical apparatus printed

as a supplement consists of the scribal notes in the manuscript. The accompanying translation the editor wishes to regard as supplementary to his twenty-five pages of notes. Taken in this sense this edition will receive the plaudits of mediaevalists. As Professor Lind suggests, however, experts in the separate fields of study will supply more detailed information. For while the *Ecclesiale* concerns itself primarily with a month by month instruction on feasts and offices, questions of Holy Scripture, dogma, canon law, patrology, and geography require special explanation.

Liturgy is one of the fields of church law that even today has not been codified; the classic authors still hold sway save in cases of specific legislation. It took great courage to enter the labyrinthian halls of the technicalities of the liturgy. The translation itself is rendered more than ordinarily difficult, not only because of the highly technical terms used, but also because titles of hymns, psalms, responses, antiphons, etc., are liberally sprinkled throughout the whole poem without any easily identifiable marks. This presupposes a rather thorough knowledge of the liturgy in order to find one's way amid a rubric of some 2,000 lines.

It is a tribute to the skill of the editor that he has achieved a notable success both in his translation and in his notes. Obscurities there are, but experts in the given field will clarify them. The perpetual calendar given as a supplement together with the definition of such terms as the golden number, epacts, keys, concurrents, solar and lunar regulars, is particularly well done. One might offer a few suggestions: the 1918 Code of Canon Law is cited by canon, not by page; Holy Thursday is usually reserved to Holy Week, not Ascension Day; Quinquagesima to the Sunday before Lent rather than to the days after Easter; the antiphons commencing December 17 are termed O antiphons (n. 1233 - as the editor actually shows in the following notes); Evangel is usually translated by Gospel. Several indices add materially to the usefulness of the volume. The University of Kansas Press is to be complimented for undertaking this scholarly publication; the use of a typewriter doubtless accounts for the uneven margin, occasional unequal spacing, and the hand-drawn accent marks.

ALBERT C. SHANNON

Merrimack College

The Papal State Under Martin V. The Administration and Government of the Temporal Power in the Early Fifteenth Century. By Peter Partner. (London: British School at Rome. 1958. Pp. ix, 264. 25s.)

Several excellent features commend this thoroughly documented study. The author has furnished a skillfully written introductory sketch of the origins and development of the Papal State to the time of the great

schism. As he pertinently remarks, the tendency of historians to place the emergence of the popes as "Italian princes" in the fifteenth century is fundamentally to misunderstand the mediaeval papacy. The temporal power emerged in the eighth century and a right understanding of its history is essential if one is to apprehend the important place it occupied in papal aims and interests, and to come to a proper understanding of the quarrels between popes and nobles which compose the history of mediaeval Rome. The author then deals in considerable detail with the efforts of the Pisan and Roman lines of popes to secure dominance in central Italy in the face of the aggressions of Ladislaus of Durazzo and the warring *condottieri* of whom Braccio da Montone emerges the most conspicuously successful. In this struggle between rival popes, John XXIII exhibited much more energy, firmness, and political acumen than did Gregory XII, who displayed rather a "disastrous weakness." Regarding the disputed question whether Gregory sold the Papal State to Ladislaus, Dr. Partner after examining the available evidence, which he does not regard as absolutely conclusive, is inclined to answer in the affirmative. The failure of both popes in effect sacrificed the temporal power to the Council of Constance which, in turn, proved itself unable to secure the submission of the struggling factions within the papal dominions.

To oust these usurpers of the pope's temporal power became one of the prime concerns of Pope Martin V in his efforts to secure independence and to re-establish papal prestige and authority over the Church. Partner treats at great length the intricate diplomatic and military maneuverings which ultimately restored Martin's authority over most of the papal territories. He attributes this success chiefly to the pope's financial ability in restoring diminished but reasonably regular papal income, to his warlike nature under an affable exterior, his tenaciousness, cunning, and "profound knowledge of all the arts and deceits of the Italian *signori*." These qualities, he adds, "may not have been the qualities of a head of the universal church, but . . . were, almost to perfection, the qualities required of the head of an Italian State." This characterization of Martin V, it will be noted, differs considerably from that given by Ludwig von Pastor.

Almost half the book is devoted to a systematic analysis of provincial government throughout the Papal State and of the central government in Rome under Martin. The basis of provincial administration remained with some minor local variations the *Constitutiones Aegidianae* issued in 1357 by Cardinal Albornoz. With the notable exception of the cities of Bologna and Perugia and the vicariates and tyrannies existing in the Romagna, government over most of the Papal State became more and more centralized. The communes, including Rome, lost almost completely any real autonomy in the management of their own affairs. Partner's

analysis rests on a careful and cautious evaluation of documentary and secondary evidence, particularly with regard to papal revenues. It demonstrates the inherent strength of the papal administrative machine as it was inherited from the Avignon popes. On his own admission his remarks concerning the relationship between the papal government and the commune of Bologna are limited due to his inability to gain access to the proper Bolognese documents or to find much relevant material in Rome. In his conclusion Mr. Partner recognizes the evils for the future stability of papal power inherent in Martin's nepotism, which contributed to the apparent breakdown of the pope's accomplishments in the pontificates of his immediate successors. He maintains, however, that Martin's bringing order out of chaos out-balanced the faults of his aggrandizing family; his re-imposition of the old system of temporal government and his emphasis on all its most centralizing aspects did have permanent effects which are plainly visible in the latter half of the century. The work includes a lengthy discussion of the sources utilized, an appendix of twenty-nine documents illustrative of important parts of the text, and a classified bibliography, and is concluded with an extensive and handy index.

The highly complex and detailed nature of this study makes the reading of it somewhat tedious. This reviewer found that as a rule the numerous Italian and Latin phrases inserted into the text from the chronicles etc., were more annoying than enlightening. Moreover, a reference in the footnotes to the subsequent treatment of, or a brief word explaining the nature of, the offices of various officials under discussion in the narrative sections would have enhanced its clarity. The spelling of *Constitutiones Aegidianae* is not consistent in the text. In spite of these minor deficiencies, this well-organized and highly informative monograph represents a notable contribution to our knowledge of the mediaeval Papal State.

RICHARD H. TRAME

Loyola University of Los Angeles

Dom Mabillon. Two Volumes. By Henri Leclercq. (Paris: Letouzey et Ané 1953. 1957. Pp. 501, 998. 1,500 frs.)

In 1931 there appeared in the *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie* (T. X. pt. 1., cols. 427-724) a long and extremely thorough article on Dom John Mabillon from the pen of Dom Henri Leclercq. A final word—one would have thought. But no. Dom Leclercq, it seems, was determined to give to a wider circle of readers an even fuller and more vivid account of the great Benedictine scholar who had been a lifelong inspiration to him. The lengthy work before us, with its preface dated

[Reviewer's note: Vol. I bears this date on the inside title page but both 1957."]

"10 février 1931—2 février 1941," represents, according to the publisher's note, "les meilleures pages" of a manuscript entrusted to them shortly before the author's death which occurred in 1945, at a time when his illness and war conditions combined to make immediate publication impossible. It is the fullest account of Mabillon that exists, and it is marked by all the author's characteristic vivacity of style and astringency of expression. Its great length should not deter readers, for there is not a dull page.

"Il a sanctifié les estudes," wrote the Prior of Saint-Denis of Mabillon after his death, "et les estudes l'ont sanctifié." Here is Mabillon's significance in a nut-shell. Not only did he win preeminence as a scholar in an age which numbered such men as Baluze, du Cange, Richard Simon, Papenbroeck, and others among its ornaments; not only, in his *De re diplomatica*, did he found the science of the diplomatic of mediaeval ecclesiastical documents; not only did he throw new beams of light on great tracts of monastic history, edit St. Bernard and St. Augustine and investigate critically in a pioneer way innumerable topics of ecclesiastical learning; he was also an observant monk of simple and straightforward character who saw in scholarship a true monastic occupation that could provide a way to holiness according to the best Benedictine traditions and whose neglect in a community—as history testified—could be an opening to monastic decline. This thesis he not only exemplified in his own life but defended vigorously and persuasively by his pen, against the opponents of monastic studies headed by the Trappist Abbot de Rancé. Through the complications of this famous controversy and the many others into which Mabillon was drawn, Dom Leclercq conducts his readers with a liveliness that never flags, emphasizing the candid and independent quality of Mabillon's mind and not sparing his opponents.

Much space is rightly devoted to Mabillon's famous *voyages littéraires*, especially his tour in Italy, which have provided in his letters or those of his companions so many interesting sidelights on the monasteries of Europe and on ecclesiastical Rome toward the end of the seventeenth century; and it seems strange that these long interruptions in regular monastic life, necessary for historical research in the then existing state of knowledge and communications, did not form an issue in the controversy with de Rancé. Mabillon, though an apologist—in the best sense—for the Benedictine Order had a high, indeed, a quite exceptional and unbiased, regard for historical truth for its own sake, and he was a forcible critic of what he believed to be the false and the legendary. Yet he was less radical in documentary criticism than the Bollandist Papenbroeck, whom he managed to convince of error on the question of the validity of certain early French charters. But he was not infallible, and could sometimes nod, and we may well contrast his surprising credulity over the relic of

the Holy Tear with his courage over the question of the unknown Roman saints. On many questions, of course, modern scholarship has necessarily passed him by, e.g., in the matter of the authorship of the *Imitation*. But by and large the integrity of his scholarship and the attractive gentleness of his character won for this Maurist scholar *par excellence* a universal respect and a unique status throughout Europe. Extremes were foreign to him and he showed no signs of sympathy with Molinos, or Fenélon, or Jansenism. Bossuet and the Le Tellier family were always his protectors; Louis XIV appreciated him, and if Innocent XI did not give him audience in Rome and appears as something of an ineffective valetudinarian in the accounts of the Roman visit, we must remember that admirable pontiff's strained relations with France.

In nothing did Mabillon more show his sanctity than in his last painful and distressing illness, of which we have a detailed account from his disciple Dom Ruinart. Dom Leclercq spares us few of the details. Today Mabillon's life could have been saved by a routine operation, and this septuagenarian whose father and grandfather had lived to be 106 and a 116 respectively would not have been cut off in what might well have been his prime.

Volume II of this remarkable work is completed by an excursus on the minor writings of Mabillon and a catalogue (1,856 entries) of letters to, from, and about him, as left by Dom Leclercq at his death. There is no systematic bibliography, for which it remains necessary to consult the *Dictionnaire* article. It is, perhaps, a pity that there is no general introduction to explain more fully the genesis of this book and its place in the literature on Mabillon; just as the book itself might have been more valuable had it contained some attempt to estimate and evaluate Mabillon's place in the development of ecclesiastical history and studies.

OUTRAM EVENNETT

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Cambridge

Lourdes 1858, Témoins de l'Événement. Edited by M. Olphe-Galliard, S.J. (Paris: P. Lethielleux. 1958. Pp. 366. 1,575 frs.)

During 1958 the eyes of the entire Catholic world were turned to the little French city of Lourdes because it was the centenary of a series of events that took place there. A plethora of books suddenly appeared from the book marts of the world as a result of this understandable interest and the volume under review is one of these. Yet is is unusual.

Twenty years after the apparitions to St. Bernadette Soubirous, Father Leonard Cros, S.J., was charged with the responsibility of conducting a

canonical inquiry into the events to become the background material for an official history. He made an exhaustive investigation both orally and in writing of all the living witnesses directly concerned with the supernatural series of events at the grotto of Massiebielle. He wrote his official histories from these sources, but this book records what his editor believes are the most important parts of the largely unpublished source material. The text is divided into four major sections. One recalls the reactions on the part of the officials of the town and the contemporaneous townsfolk; another the reactions of Bernadette's near of kin. A third section records the testimony of Bernadette's companions, members of the parish, her teachers, and the local clergy. The last and most important part summarizes much of the story of Lourdes and is the autograph account of the visions written by Jean B. Estrade, one of the earliest publicists of the events.

The value of this work is two-fold. For those ever interested in being more and more exact in describing the minutiae of the events of February-July, 1858, in Lourdes, here is another font of detail. Detail abounds here on the intimate personal level of people who are daily constant companions of the seeress or the various members of her family. The editor has carefully edited each account in relation to the already well established facts of the visions and there is a wealth of material here not found in even the best accounts of Lourdes. The real value is the personal reactions to the whole series of phenomena and its participants that the various eye-witnesses experienced. They express their opinions very frankly (which is probably one reason why the entire contents of this book have only now appeared) and these opinions are illuminating and instructive. Here we find people who thought Bernadette a visionary and others who were not so sure. Most witnesses, by the way, became convinced by the obviously ecstatic condition of Bernadette during the visions. Bernadette herself comes alive, a little girl who is apparently unconcerned about convincing anyone concerning the verity of her visions. Her real great preoccupation is to please the "Lady," and to please her she will do anything, even beard the redoubtable Abbé Peyramale in his own rectory. Her delightful answers to the chidings of her "know-it-all" elders are filled with the wisdom of the simple. Jacomet, her supposed persecutor, emerges a better drawn figure because the opinions of his close associates are recorded here. The amusing vignette appears of Madame Jacomet listening at the door of her husband's study to hear what her husband is saying to Bernadette. A good picture is likewise drawn of the clerical condition of the little town a century ago. The anger and annoyance of one of the curates are recorded, a man who believed Bishop Lawrence and Abbé Peyramale timid and fearful—certainly their prudent attitude had deprived him of a front seat at the apparitions. The

seminary director gives a fine and understanding appraisal of that key figure—the pastor of Lourdes.

All source material of this nature must be uneven in value because it consists of the personal views of sometimes unobserving and inarticulate people to a certain set of circumstances. And this book is just what it sets out to be—a collection of personal reactions to the visions of Lourdes. The editing is well done and no time is lost in boring details or repetition. The reader will find in *Lourdes 1858* exactly what he is looking for concerning the visions of that year.

VINCENT M. MCDONALD

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The Vatican Revolution. By Geddes MacGregor. (Boston: Beacon Press. 1957. Pp. xiv, 226. $4.95.)

The papacy is one of the chief stones of scandal for Protestants. Protestant studies on the subject come forth year after year because the theme is always of present concern. But there is a change of tone in such studies as we follow them through the years. The book under present consideration is one of the latest Protestant studies of the papacy. Its author is a Scottish divine now teaching at Bryn Mawr College in the United States. If we compare MacGregor's work with the famous study of Salmon in the last century we shall note a great difference. First of all, MacGregor has written a friendly book; he has no desire to irritate Catholics for whom he obviously has sympathies. Perhaps, these sympathies were made strong during his stay in France where he studied at the Sorbonne.

MacGregor gives us a history of Pio Nono and the Vatican Council. For the council itself he relies much on Cuthbert Butler's history. The story as it comes from the pen of MacGregor tells how Pio Nono, a kindly man of small talents, became disillusioned with liberalism and in reaction turned into a stubborn champion of the theory of the absolute power of the papacy. To have his theory canonized he rigged up the Vatican Council which was unconstitutionally dragooned into legislating papal primacy and infallibility, in spite of the opposition of the best men in the council. There is a final chapter which deals with the unfelt but, nonetheless, real uncongeniality of papalism to American democracy. What makes MacGregor's book original is his theory that papalist supremacy and infallibility are not definitive doctrines of Roman Catholicism. Catholics could get rid of them legitimately, and they should be helped to do so. As MacGregor sees it, there are many who would like this change but feel embarrassment because of the Vatican Council's

teaching. But, for MacGregor, the Vatican Council's decrees are not legitimate pronouncements of the Catholic Church. They were illegally foisted on the Church by a manipulated council. A future council examining the Vatican synod would see that its decrees were unconstitutional and illegitimate, with the conclusion that the question on papalism would be an open one. The supposition is that with the question open, a constitutional council acting in free deliberation and free vote would reject papal primacy and infallibility. It is in friendliness that MacGregor proposes his interpretation of the Vatican Council. He knows very well that Catholics are neither dupes nor villains, and he is generous in his praise of all opponents of papal supremacy during the Vatican Council or before it. Even the defenders of the doctrine are not painted as monsters but only as misguided men, not without some redeeming qualities in their characters. Any American Catholic self-criticism is welcomed as a sign of unfelt opposition to papalism.

For MacGregor's kindliness we can be grateful. But we cannot help but feel that his kindness is one of intent rather than fact. The basic weakness of MacGregor's position is his understanding of a council. He conceives it as a democratic parliament with supreme legislative and teaching power in the Church. He can, of course, find support for this thesis in the conciliar movement of the fifteenth century. If, however, we go along with modern ecclesiologists in rejecting such a legalist and extrinsic conception of councils, MacGregor's whole argument becomes untenable. The Church is an organized society indeed, but it is more than that. It is a mystical union where all energy and power are derived from the Holy Spirit immanent in the union. The episcopate is not a parliamentary sum of individual bishops but a spiritual power into which individual bishops are incorporated, and this power is the immediate instrument of the Holy Spirit. God makes even the wrath of men to praise Him, and so the human passions operative in a council are historically interesting but dogmatically insignificant. The Council of Ephesus (431) shows as much "rigging" by a stubborn man, St. Cyril, as does the Vatican Council; yet the universal Church has never had any difficulty in recognizing the dogmatic validity of the Ephesine decrees. The Nestorian party withdrew from the Church universal after Ephesus, but the withdrawn group—in the beginning quite large—has never been considered a part of the Church and in our day we are witnessing its painless demise. The validity of a council is proved by the tranquil acceptance of the whole Church and the sure sign of that acceptance is the promulgation of the conciliar decrees by the Bishop of Rome. This was accepted as true long before the Vatican Council.

GUSTAVE WEIGEL

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Pius XI: The Pope and the Man. By Zsolt Aradi. (Garden City, New York: Hanover House. 1958. Pp. 262, $4.50.)

The earlier biographies of Pius XI, written during his lifetime, lack the historical perspective found in this work of Zsolt Aradi. The former, written under adverse political conditions, especially in Germany and Italy, dared not present the true picture. Mr. Aradi, however, was not subjected to such disadvantages. In a clear, easy style he has ably and objectively presented Achille Ratti as pope and man, taking the reader from the simplicity of the hills and plains of Lombardy to the magnificence and grandeur of the Eternal City. In eleven interesting chapters Mr. Aradi vividly describes Pius XI as the boy in Brianza; the studious seminarian in Seveso, Milan, and later in Rome; the young priest, first in parish work under the lovable Milanese Archbishop Calabiana, and later as professor at the seminary and director of the Ambrosiana Library in Milan; as an active member of the Italian Alpine Club and as an ardent student of Italian revolutionary politics; as Prefect of the Vatican Library; as apostolic visitor and later Nuncio to Poland and apostolic commissioner during the Oppeln Plebiscite of 1920; as Archbishop of Milan; as cardinal, and finally as supreme pontiff.

Most of Ratti's priestly life had been quietly and studiously spent in the libraries of Milan and Rome until the age of sixty-one. From this time on his rise as churchman and diplomat was meteoric. In less than four years he had been elected to the papacy. Despite any apparent discrepancies Pius XI had been well prepared over the years for this high office. Born during the Risorgimento, he lived through Italy's unification. The writings of eminent literary men like Dante and Alessandro Manzoni created a powerful force in the mind of young Ratti, which later came under the far-reaching influence of such ecclesiastics, scholars, and diplomats as Leo XIII, St. Pius X, Cardinal Mercier, the Jesuits Sanguineti, Lugari, Baldi, Querini, Franz X. Werner, the Thomists Francesco Satolli, Liberatore, Salvator Talamo, Giuseppe Toniolo, the geologist, Antonio Stoppani, and last, but not least, Eugenio Pacelli.

In perusing *Pius XI: The Pope and the Man,* one becomes convinced of the outstanding qualities of the man, as a devoted churchman, a brilliant scholar, and a warm, understanding though determined human being. As both nuncio and pope, Achille Ratti increased the prestige of the Church throughout the world, especially in Poland, France, Germany, and Italy where his diplomatic efforts were crowned by the signing of the Lateran Treaty, establishing once again the papacy's temporal sovereignty. His vital interest in the Church abroad has caused him to be called "The Pope of the Missions." In the field of learning Ratti was a progressive and scientific librarian, an ardent proponent of the philosophy of St. Thomas

Aquinas, and a great advocate of Christian education as evinced in the role he played in the inauguration of the Catholic Universities of Lublin, Milan, and Peking. In his private life he was a man of God, with great devotion to the Sacred Heart, the Blessed Virgin, St. John Vianney (dying with the curé's rosary in his hand), and of St. Thérèse of Lisieux. As a youth he had joined several pious associations including the Third Order Secular of St. Francis of Assisi and later as a priest he entered the Oblates of St. Charles Borromeo. To some Pius XI was a stern disciplinarian, but to those who knew him well he was a kind, considerate, warmhearted, understanding individual with an ever present lively sense of humor.

The author has succeeded admirably in describing the life of Pope Pius XI, and, at the same time, has given the reader a clear though brief insight into the conditions that brought about the political upheavals of a nineteenth-century Europe, and the later evils resulting from Communism, Nazism, and Fascism. He also gives a fine résumé of all the encyclicals issued during the pontificate. Zsolt Aradi was well equipped to write this biography. Being a journalist and having resided ten years in Rome prior to 1939, he had the distinct advantage of being able to acquire added information from intimate friends of the pope, and from rare manuscript and library sources found in the Vatican and the city of Rome. Mr. Aradi errs, however, when he states that Achille Ratti had taken vows when he entered the various pious associations. It is, e.g., a well known fact, that the members of the Third Order Secular of St. Francis are not bound in conscience to the observance of the rule. For students of history and for those who would like to know the real Achille Ratti this biography will prove of real value.

FRANCIS J. RIGNEY

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AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY

The Yankee Paul. Isaac Thomas Hecker. By Vincent F. Holden, C.S.P. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1958. Pp. xx, 508. $6.95.)

The reader of Father Holden's long-awaited study is likely to experience an initial disappointment. *The Yankee Paul* carries the biography of Father Hecker (1819-1888) only as far as 1858: no more than fourteen years beyond the point reached in the same author's doctoral dissertation, *The Early Years of Isaac Thomas Hecker (1819-1844)* (Washington, 1939). What is more, neither the jacket nor the title page of the present book gives any inkling of this fact. One must read half through the appropriate foreword by Archbishop Cushing before encountering the

first hint that this is the first of two volumes. However, the disappointment will not be lasting. In his preface Father Holden assures us that Volume II will soon appear. It soon becomes evident, too, that *the Yankee Paul* is no mere prolongation of *The Early Years*. A glance at the list of archives consulted since the completion of the dissertation is enough to prove that. Of special importance among the newer deposits examined are those of Propaganda Fide in Rome and those of the Redemptorists in the United States, England, Holland, and Rome. The careful and abundant annotation—placed at the end of the book, but set up as conveniently as possible—indicates that the author has now mastered his subject. This mastery has enabled him to write his story clearly and with a sure hand; to criticize with authority the shortcomings of the Elliott and Elliott-Klein lives of Hecker; and to clear up satisfactorily certain minor problems that have arisen in the study of Hecker's life and times.

Those of us who are better acquainted with the later and more controversial Hecker will naturally look for clues to this later reputation in the story of Hecker the Seeker and Hecker the Redemptorist. We will not be disappointed, for Isaac Hecker the younger and Isaac Hecker the older were of a piece. Toward the end of the century, e.g., there was to be much argument over Father Hecker's spirituality. Actually, the full story of his conversion presents a fascinating case in religious psychology. It seems quite clear, too, that he enjoyed mystical graces: of a lower order, perhaps, but genuine. Father Holden does well to point out, at the same time, that Hecker was an extrovert rather than a subjectivist.

Also to be controverted was Hecker's concept of missionary methods. But his principle that an apostle to the Yankee must speak in terms comprehensible to the Yankee is now a commonplace among us. In his belief that Yankees, if only properly approached, would stampede into the Church he was, perhaps, excessively optimistic. He sometimes admitted that he pictured that prospect in rosy hues. It is likely that he was more sanguine than he himself realized. But he certainly had a keen appreciation of the Yankee point of view. And nobody but a man of strong enthusiasms could have exercised any effective leadership in undertaking the Yankee mission. Hecker's dismissal from the Redemptorist congregation was, of course, a painful matter. With the full co-operation of the Redemptorists, Father Holden has done the best possible thing. He has told the entire story, charitably and with complete objectivity. This clears the air for once and all; and the reader sees in the whole affair merely another one of those tragic yet salutary trials which sometimes arise out of the misunderstandings of good men. If the author writes at length he, nevertheless, writes so engagingly that this reviewer was ready, at the denouement, to shout three cheers for the Yankees and their splendid backers in Rome.

The publishers, having produced a book which is generally well manufactured, have included, as a frontispiece, a color reproduction of the portrait of Hecker painted by George P. A. Healy. Holden's portrait matches Healy's. Both represent a man of utter guilelessness, deep devotion, and unflagging zeal. The biographer has thus furnished us with much that will help us solve the questions later raised about his subject. Perhaps, he has already given a tentative answer to the Abbé Maignen's rhetorical question: "Le Père Hecker: est-il un saint?" Apart from a few printer's oversights—most serious of which is the omission of some lines from the archival discussion on page 417—the reviewer detected only two mistakes. Dom Bernard Smith was professor of dogmatic rather than moral theology at the Urban College (p. 273); and Pius IX—as Father Holden surely realizes—did not survive Monsignor George Talbot (p. 477).

ROBERT F. MCNAMARA

St. Bernard's Seminary

1833 . . . St. Patrick's of New Orleans . . . 1958. Edited by Charles L. Dufour. (New Orleans: St. Patrick's Church. Pp. xiv, 137.)

"Of the making of parish chronicles there is no end," but this book about old St. Patrick's in New Orleans is different from the average parish history. It was conceived and commissioned by the present pastor, Monsignor Henry C. Bezou, and the result is an attractive volume printed on good paper in clear type, seriously done yet without burdening footnotes. There are many illustrations but no index. The sub-title best describes the undertaking: "commemorative essays for the 125th anniversary." Rather than a parish chronicle assembled by a single writer, this is the story of St. Patrick's told by twelve different authors, most of them authorities in special fields. Departure from the conventional formula has proven very happy in this case, although it could not be copied in telling the history of the twenty other parishes established in the colorful Crescent City between 1833 and 1858. But, then, St. Patrick's is different in many ways. It is the oldest parish after the venerable and quaint St. Louis Cathedral (first established in 1722), and the first one to be built above Canal Street, or outside the narrow confines of the *Vieux Carré*. Its first quarter-century coincides with one of the truly fertile periods of the Catholic Church in New Orleans, a period likewise disturbed by many growing pains.

The first essay from the pen of a nationally known historian and scholar, Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C., situates the reader in the broader context of the American Church around 1830. Other essays present a graphic picture of New Orleans, with its religious and political climates,

its wave of Irish immigrants whose presence demanded a church where "God spoke English." St. Patrick's, indeed, came into existence when anti-foreign sentiment was widespread throughout the land. New Orleans itself had very peculiar demographic problems which caused endless racial discord and contention. St. Patrick's was designed as a service to the new Irish immigrant group of the city and became at once a symbol of the remarkable growth of the southern metropolis. It always felt a mission, that of integrating a Catholic society of varying population strains, while old St. Louis Cathedral remained identified with the Creole aristocracy.

The longest contribution to the volume (pp. 55-95) which is the "backbone" of these commemorative essays comes from the pen of Roger Baudier, official chronicler of the Archdiocese of New Orleans and author of the solid volume, *The Catholic Church in Louisiana* (New Orleans, 1939). He has combined vast knowledge with proverbially thorough research to produce a most readable chronological story of St. Patrick's and of its ten pastors. Mr. Baudier describes an infancy troubled by chronic financial embarrassment, the by-product of trustee rule, and an adult age (c. 1940) when there remained but thirty resident families. But migration to the suburbs and the increasing invasion of business establishments have never altered the mission of the parish. After days of glory and decline and revival, St. Patrick's still stands, the second oldest Catholic church of the city. It has remained the beloved shrine of the Irish Catholics of New Orleans and also become the spiritual haven for a new, transient citizenry.

BERNARD DOYON

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AMERICAN HISTORY

Dictionary of American Biography. Supplement Two. Edited by Robert Livingston Schuyler and Edward T. James. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1958. Pp. viii, 745. $15.00.)

The appearance of a new volume of the *Dictionary of American Biography* will be warmly welcomed by all serious students of American life. This famous work of co-operative scholarship under the auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies has already gained a reputation that will endure for the indefinite future, and *Supplement Two,* covering men and women who died between January 1, 1936, and December 31, 1940, now adds 585 additional biographies to the total of 14,285 sketches embraced within the original twenty volumes and *Supplement One* which

had appeared up to 1944. Since its inception in 1926 the editors of this indispensable reference work have taken extraordinary pains to insure that the final product should conform to the highest standards of competence and accuracy. The editors of *Supplement Two* have continued this fine tradition by consulting approximately 460 specialists, and with their assistance have sifted the original 2,000 names suggested for inclusion to the 585 biographies which have been written by 451 different authors. Variety there certainly is, for within the pages of this volume one will find Americans as diverse as the anarchist Emma Goldman and John D. Rockefeller of the fabulous oil fortune. Here, too, is the distinguished statesman Elihu Root, the comedian Ben Turpin, the blues singer Bessie Smith, the drugstore magnate Charles R. Walgreen, and even the infamous swindler Gaston B. Means, all written by authors with special qualifications for the task and all accompanied by pertinent bibliographical references.

But it is the American Catholics who found a place in the new volume that will be of special interest to readers of the REVIEW since the general contents has either already been surveyed elsewhere or will soon be reviewed in other journals. A check of those who were obviously Catholics —and here "obviously" should be emphasized since the sketches were not read closely enough to constitute a really exact estimate—revealed that among the 652 biographies in *Supplement One*, published in 1944, eighteen were Catholics. In this sense the volume under review shows a slightly higher per cent with twenty-five certain Catholics counted out of the total of 585 biographies. Among these twenty-five Catholic Americans who died during the years 1936-1940 there were two cardinals (Hayes and Mundelein), one bishop (Turner), and eight priests: John J. Burke, C.S.P., John J. Curran, Paul Francis, S.A., William J. Kerby, Virgil Michel, O.S.B., Julius A. Nieuwland, C.S.C., Edward A. Pace, and James A. Walsh, M.M. Of the laymen three were journalists: Heywood Broun, Peter Finley Dunne, and Floyd Gibbons; two were jurists: Pierce Butler and Morgan O'Brien; two were historians: John C. Fitzpatrick and Parker T. Moon; two were politicians: John F. Hylan and Frank P. Walsh; two were financiers: Clarence H. Mackay and Charles M. Schwab; and one was a physician who was also an amateur historian, Lawrence F. Flick; one an architect, Christopher G. LaFarge; and one a manufacturer, Patrick H. Callahan.

As one pages through the biographies in this work it is immediately evident how little family names may offer a safe clue to a man's religious affiliation, e.g., several names of distinctly Irish origin turned out to have been members of one of the Protestant churches. Again the number of persons included in *Supplement Two* who met sudden deaths from heart attacks seemed a noticeable feature to this reviewer. But more pertinent to

the twenty-five Catholics mentioned above is the fact that all but three were Catholics from birth—Broun, Paul Francis, and Parker Moon having been converts to the Church. And all but two were born in the United States, Father Nieuwland having been born in Belgium and Bishop Turner in Ireland.

One might, indeed, question the omission of certain other American Catholics who died during these five years—the policy of automatically including all bishops which was true of the earlier volumes has now given way to merely a selection among these prelates of men who were felt to have exercised more than ordinary importance and diocesan influence during their lives. A limitation doubtless had to be set somewhere, and in view of the editors' criterion that a subject have importance in the broad terms of social history rather than technical or professional eminence, it would be difficult to quarrel seriously with the selections as finally made.

As the staff of the *D.A.B.* moves into the 1940's their task of selection will become all the more severe if they are to adhere to uniform sized volumes covering a span of five years, since the number of prominent Americans who might be suitable candidates for inclusion in the next supplement will in all likelihood far exceed the roughly 2,000 names from which the final choice was made for the present volume. Allowing, then, for inevitable slips here and there, *Supplement Two* is an admirable addition to the lengthening shelf of the *D.A.B.*, and the thousands of readers who have used the volumes with so much profit and pleasure will be unanimous in their best wishes for a "happy landing" to those who are to pilot this splendid enterprise into the early 1940's.

JOHN TRACY ELLIS

The Catholic University of America

American Minds: A History of Ideas. By Stow Persons. (New York: Henry Holt and Co. 1958. Pp. 459. $5.00.)

This book surveys American intellectual history through five "concentrations of ideas" or "moods" selected by the author as expressions of the American mind. These include 1) The Colonial Religious Mind; 2) The Mind of the American Enlightenment; 3) The Mind of Nineteenth Century Democracy; 4) The Naturalistic Mind; 5) The Contemporary Neo-Democratic Mind. For each social "mind" there is a series of chapters devoted to outstanding characteristics and illustrated by key individuals and movements. Professor Persons specifically acknowledges the absence of any effort "to explore the formation or dissolution of these systems or ideas or to trace the transitions between them." One is tempted to query —why, then, a history of ideas? Together with the episodic character of

the chapters this survey of ideas in a vacuum reduces the value of the book for consecutive reading or study. Possibly due to the method of presentation, there is considerable repetition in some of the sections. This is especially true in the portion devoted to "The Naturalistic Mind" and it scarcely adds clarity from the point of view of the student whom the book is intended to serve as a text.

Although the list of individuals discussed is highly selective the author has, unfortunately, not been able to avoid the encyclopedic. And it is difficult to envision a student acquiring from these biographical sketches the kind of insight offered, e.g., by a Parrington. The treatment of movements is cursory and, in consequence, does not serve as the anchor for which it was probably intended. A striking weakness in the discussion of the social mind of nineteenth and twentieth-century America is the almost complete absence of references to the Jewish or Catholic contribution. Notably is this true in the chapter devoted to the "Varieties of Religious Expression" and in the treatment of the social gospel in its various manifestations.

Intellectual history admittedly presents serious problems of organization, selection, and presentation. Professor Persons is equipped to undertake the task from the point of view of scholarship and command of the materials. However, the present work is, to this reviewer at least, a disappointing one. Students of intellectual and cultural history in the American field have yet to find the satisfactory text.

MADELEINE HOOKE RICE

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The French in North America: A Bibliographical Guide to French Archives, Reproductions, and Research Missions. By Henry Putnam Beers. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1957. Pp. ix, 413. $12.50.)

This is an extremely useful reference book which will be welcomed by all concerned with the history of the French in North America and with the history of North American history. Dr. Beers, author of *Bibliographies in American History,* and a member of the staff of the National Archives in Washington, has brought together a vast amount of information previously widely scattered in numerous rare, out of print, and out of date bibliographies, inventories, guides, and calendars, as well as in a wide range of other printed sources and secondary publications.

While it is ungrateful to quarrel with a work so useful and so badly needed, it must be pointed out that the title and the jacket description are misleading. For as Dr. Beers notes in his preface, the work attempts to

be comprehensive only with regard to materials for the history of regions now forming part of the United States and for the history of American foreign relations with France. Canada and Canadian research missions receive rather summary treatment. Considering the extent of the French empire in North America before 1763, and its highly centralized administration, this is another case of Hamlet without the prince. Surely this is one instance in which the unfortunate compartmentalization of Canadian and American history might well have been broken down, to the profit of workers in both vineyards. It is a pity that Dr. Beers was not able to undertake the "extensive research in Canadian records and manuscripts" which he notes would have been necessary, or that he did not find a Canadian collaborator to do for the Canadian side of the story what he has done so well for the American.

The opening chapter of this work is devoted to an admirable short account of the documentary materials for North American history in the French archives and libraries, together with references to the available guides. The chapter also contains a briefer and less satisfactory account of Catholic archives, whose resources should be better known and more freely open to qualified investigators in accordance with Leo XIII's recommendations. Chapter II deals with historians of American diplomacy and their researches in the French archives, from Jared Sparks to John J. Meng. Chapter III is concerned with historians of the French regime in North America where there is also supplied a brief account of the holdings of American Catholic archives. Chapter IV deals with the activities of the state institutions and libraries. Chapter V is devoted to the invaluable work of the Carnegie Institution of Washington which produced the monumental Leland *Guides* and Surrey *Calendar*, as well as lesser works. Chapter VI summarizes the work of the United States government in this field, from the publication of Sparks' *Diplomatic Correspondence* to the formation of the Library of Congress' collection of reproductions, now the largest single body of French documents relating to North American history. Chapter VII, "Canadian Institutions and Historians," is disappointing, devoting only twenty-eight pages to a field which is unfamiliar to most American historians. The account is valuable as far as it goes, but it does not go nearly far enough. The language barrier has evidently loomed large, to judge by references to the "Collège Morrin," an English institution; to "Henry" Casgrain, elsewhere more correctly identified; and to "John" Langelier. No mention is made of the documentary resources of several major libraries, or of the seminaries aside from Quebec and St. Sulpice. This chapter should be enlarged and brought up to date in a subsequent edition.

A valuable final chapter, nominally devoted to conclusions but actually to needs, calls for a comprehensive publication of French documents by a

co-operative effort of the state historical agencies and historical societies, and a comprehensive publication of diplomatic correspondence including French as well as American documents. Dr. Beers also calls attention to neglected documentary sources in the archives of Paris and the French provinces, and in business records and private papers in France. He strongly supports Monsignor Peter Guilday's recommendation, still unfulfilled after more than thirty years, for an inventory and reproduction program devoted to the neglected materials for the history of the Catholic Church in North America which are to be found in European public and ecclesiastical depositories. As Dr. Beers points out, "These various sources are significant not only for the history of the Church itself, but also for social and economic history and regional, local, and Indian history." But they can be made available only by a co-operative Catholic effort. Two appendices supply a list of French representatives in the United States and a chronological list of American and Canadian investigations in the French archives. There is a valuable seventy-page bibliography and a good index.

MASON WADE

University of Rochester

The Papers of Thomas Jefferson. Volume 14: *8 October 1788 to 26 March 1789.* Julian P. Boyd, Editor; William H. Gaines, Jr., and Joseph H. Harrison, Jr., Associate Editors. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1958. Pp. xliv, 708. $10.00.)

The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, of which Volume 14 is the latest, is a monumental undertaking, launched in 1943 as a congressional memorial to the great philosopher-president and carried on by Julian P. Boyd and his distinguished colleagues at Princeton. The fifty-two-volume series will include not only 18,000 letters written *by* Jefferson, but also in full or in summary more than 25,000 letters addressed *to* him. Forty volumes will include the correspondence in chronological sequence and will be followed by approximately ten volumes of special writings on specific subjects, and a two-volume comprehensive index. Pertinent and unobstrusive annotations and the valuable conclusions of the editors will be welcomed by scholars. The absence of an index at the end of each volume will be deplored by critics and certain approaches and interpretations will be questioned. But in the over-all the project is marked by outstanding editing, printing, and scholarship.

Volume 14 covers the period from October, 1788, through March, 1789, Jefferson's last winter in Paris as American Minister. It was a period of

relative political calm in France, a calm before the storm of revolution. Over 100 pages are devoted to the consular convention of 1788 and a new interpretation of John Jay's diplomacy is offered. The correspondence concerned with the Declaration of the Rights of Man, the whale oil crisis, the wheat crisis, and Necker's program are particularly noteworthy. There is none of the intensity which the historian might expect to find in letters penned in these critical months, but Jefferson's awareness of affairs is manifest on every page. Of no less interest to Jefferson were matters across the Atlantic. Letters from Jay, Madison, and others convey events on the American political scene with frustrating brevity but marvelous incisiveness. Developments in the several states, the first federal election, and Madison's famous appraisal of the Bill of Rights—those inadequate "parchment barriers"—are most interesting. The ambiguity in Jay's instructions reveals the obvious inadequacy of the Articles of Confederation.

Jefferson's personal life—his scientific and literary interests, his concern for his affairs at Monticello, and for his daughters—find frequent reference in the letters. With the 60,000 known Jefferson letters and manuscripts before them, the editors have confirmed the family tradition that Martha Jefferson was attracted to the Catholic Church, but they find no verification for the story that Jefferson hastily withdrew his daughter from a French convent school. Rather, they conclude that her departure from the Abbey of Pentemont coincided with the American Minister's long-planned return to Virginia and affairs there, long neglected during his overseas sojourn. As another milestone in the completion of a brilliant series, Volume 14 will be welcomed by political scientists and historians as a chapter in what is, indeed, a monumental autobiography of a great American.

EDWARD M. MCNULTY

Rider College

We The People: The Economic Origins of the Constitution. By Forrest McDonald. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1958. Pp. viii, 436. $7.00.)

The thesis of this important book is simple, but devastating—the demonstration through painstaking and exhaustive research of the inadequacy of Charles A. Beard's thesis of economic determinism as an adequate explanation of the making of the Constitution. In 1913 Beard literally shocked the American public with his *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution* which immediately became a subject of heated controversy. To Beard the Constitution was not drafted by patriotic men to affirm the Declaration of Independence but to advance the economic interests of the

consolidated personality groups—money, public securities, land speculation, trade and shipping, manufactures, and slave-holdings—groups who knew precisely that they would benefit economically from the new Constitution at the expense of other groups—small farmers, debtors, and the propertyless masses. Moreover, Beard stated that ratification was obtained ruthlessly and undemocratically in an undemocratic society. Although Beard admitted that his work was "frankly fragmentary" and based on inadequate research, nevertheless, in keeping with his theme that written history was "an act of faith" or, at best, a "noble dream," he proceeded to write what to many became the last word on the economic origins of the Constitution. In spite of sharp criticism, Beard's influence on the methods and theoretical basis of the analysis of American history was tremendous. His account as history came into almost universal acceptance. But in 1956 appeared *Charles A. Beard and the Constitution* by Robert E. Brown, a thorough critical analysis of Beard's methodology which concluded that the Beard thesis was not based on the proper use of historical method. In 1958 McDonald, who thought it best to refrain from reading Brown's work, completed the destruction of the Beard thesis. He unearthed the historical data which Beard observed would require "years of research" and which he felt was not necessary to prove his thesis. With this evidence McDonald demonstrates the incompatibility of the Beard thesis with the facts.

In the first seven chapters the author reviews Beard's work paragraph by paragraph. He supplies much missing evidence, corrects the errors of omission and commission, and properly interprets the evidence. The remaining three chapters, primarily interpretive in character, should be required reading for everyone, as they present many valuable insights as to the true significance of the accumulated data and why and how economic interest groups and the different states reacted to the Constitution the way they did. But while McDonald discredits Beard, he still indicates that economic factors render intelligible many aspects in the making of the Constitution. Instead of beginning research with a system of interpretation or with a hypothesis, as Beard did, he suggests a pluralistic interpretation, which includes economic factors, based on carefully drawn historical procedures in which the ideal of objectivity will be stressed. In the near future McDonald proposes to write follow-up studies which will offer us his interpretation of the making of the Constitution. Through the proper use of historical analysis Brown and McDonald indicate that the study of the making and ratifying of the Constitution should not begin with the illusion that the Beard thesis is valid.

ANTHONY F. TURHOLLOW

Loyola University of Los Angeles

American Classics Reconsidered. Edited by Harold C. Gardiner, S.J. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1958. Pp. x, 307. $4.95.)

American Literature and Christian Doctrine. By Randall Stewart. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1958. Pp. xiii, 155. $3.50.)

Father Gardiner, literary editor of *America* and author of *Catholic Viewpoint in Censorship,* edits this scholarly collection of essays contributed by ten Catholic writers, each of whom presents a highly perceptive appraisal of the nineteenth-century writer whose work he is "reconsidering." Though there had been no prescribed point of view agreed upon for a unifying theme here, Father Gardiner calls attention in his introductory essay to "the common denominator running through all, namely, that our nineteenth century classics betray, in their awareness of man and the universe, more concern with a 'faith' of pre-Puritan ancestry than has been generally conceded or adequately investigated." The best writing of that period from Emerson to Parkman "ponders" the question, "'What is man, what is God?'"

Professor Randall Stewart, Chairman of the Department of English at Vanderbilt University, and author of the excellent collection of essays in *American Literature and Christian Doctrine,* confesses at the outset to being "quite frankly partisan" in the stand he takes against the prevailing "neutrality" too often observed by college professors in their approach to the discussion of moral and religious themes in American literature, a neutrality sufficient to create the impression that the "unorthodox" or secular writers are made to appear more democratic, more influential in shaping American traditions than have been the "orthodox" thinkers and writers, who reveal the impress of Puritan thought and its preoccupation with the nature of man, with the problem of good and evil, in short, with the doctrine and discipline of original sin, that "vein of iron" that has characterized our American life and literature.

In so brief a review so much must be left unsaid that these few comments can do little to avoid the risk of over-simplification in stating that both studies contribute to a "comparative approach" to the critical evaluation of our belles-lettres. The symposium edited by Father Gardiner, limited to the appraisal of fourteen nineteenth-century writers, has the advantage of providing for the intensive treatment of each writer by scholars who are completely at home in the areas of their respective subjects. Because of the breadth of the field which he subjects to his thesis, Dr. Stewart's studies are necessarily less intensive, though uniformly the work of a richly stored mind. By the terms of that thesis, "Emerson's doctrine is radically anti-Christian, and has done more than any other doctrine to undermine Christian belief in America." Professor Robert C. Pollock, of

Fordham University, disagrees. "Emerson [was] a thinker who was rediscovering for himself elements of an ancient tradition, and so effectively that he has been favorably compared with great medieval Catholic figures."

Professor Stewart's Whitman is, like Emerson, an arch-heretic, a pagan, too, "whose poetry is suffused with charity, and a great tenderness." Though he finds Whitman "a Pagan in Adam's garden," the poet's verses convince Dr. Ernest Sandeen of the University of Notre Dame's Department of English that Whitman is a primitive. There is good reading in these critical essays. They offer the stimulating experience of doing some "reconsidering" for ourselves.

MILDRED M. CONNELY

Detroit, Michigan

The Frontier Mind: A Cultural Analysis of the Kentucky Frontiersman. By Arthur K. Moore. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. Pp. x, 264. $5.00.)

This volume is a cultural analysis of the frontiersman who inhabited Kentucky during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. While the emerging type is followed no further than in his boisterous life on the Mississippi River, the author believes that he remained the same on the successive frontiers all the way to the Pacific. Since these later frontiers, however, form no part of this study, the sub-title would be a more accurate description of the book. The analysis begins with the pivotal idea of Kentucky as the earthly paradise. From the Valley of Virginia and the neighboring backcountry this mythical Garden of Eden drew frontiersmen who were in search of such a paradisiacal land of pleasure and freedom from restraint. Turning their backs on eastern civilized society, they gave free rein to their primitive impulses as they took possession of the Garden. The Kentucky frontiersman, therefore, was a product of irrational expectations—"unrestrained existence"—and frontier living conditions. He was ignorant, "reckless, exuberant, lawless, violent, brave." Educated Virginia gentry came later and by legal chicanery frequently acquired the frontiersman's holdings. The gentry tried to plant the Enlightenment and European learning generally in the Bluegrass, and Transylvania University under the presidency (1817-1827) of Horace Holley was very promising. But the imprint on Kentucky of the anti-intellectual frontiersman could not be effaced and Holley resigned. Such, according to Dr. Moore, was the development and unfortunate influence of the frontier mind, an influence that continued as the type persisted during the remainder of westward expansion. In addition to this portrayal of the real frontiersman the author

calls upon his knowledge as a professor of English to show how the Romanticists of the nineteenth century, and John Filson as early as 1784, constructed a mythical Daniel Boone type as an agent of the "progress" so dear, not only to the Enlightenment, but to the nineteenth-century civilized sociey, and how on a wider geographical scale Cooper and others similarly romanticized the backwoodsman into the wise and noble man of nature. Such literary presentations appealed to the readers' nostalgic longing for the forest and encouraged primitivism.

The author's description of the culturally destructive frontier mind contrasts with the roseate picture of Turner's theory where the frontier supposedly revitalized society and created a distinctively American culture little indebted to and superior to that of Europe. The trend in recent years away from the Turner thesis is not just one of minimizing the influence of the frontier on American history and American culture, but of passing judgment on the value of the frontier's contribution. Dr. Moore, who examines and rejects the Turner thesis, does not hesitate to say that, while the frontiersman performed an important material task, the frontier's literary contribution was negligible and its social and anti-intellectual influence harmful. Steeped in a knowledge of the European inheritance which he defends, Mr. Moore traces back through the centuries of European thought the ideas involved in his analysis. His command of American literature also serves him well in studying the mythical frontiersman as a literary type. That the study leans rather heavily on literature is both its weakness and its strength. Writers from other disciplines may add to the picture which he has sketched. Perhaps, too, the author has placed too much emphasis on the idea of a paradisiacal haven for persons fleeing the restraints of society. How many of these early immigrants were merely accepting a less civilized life as a necessary and temporary hardship? How many brought their Bibles and what books they had with them? But whether the majority fled from civilization or lost much of it in backwoods Virginia and Kentucky the resulting frontier mind did delay cultural development and, among other things, contributed to an isolationist attitude and anti-intellectualism. All students interested in these important problems should not neglect this scholarly and provocative book.

ANTHONY H. DEYE

Villa Madonna College

NOTES AND COMMENTS

The Center for Historical Research of the Vatican Archives sponsored a meeting in late October at which mediaeval scholars from Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Spain, and Switzerland joined with representatives of the Vatican Archives in an agreement to establish a collection of letters, bulls, and other papal documents written between the years 1198 and 1417, the originals of which are now widely scattered in government, private, and ecclesiastical archives. It was also announced that the center will undertake the compilation of an index of pontifical documents from 1198 to modern times with a view to future publication of a series of volumes containing the documents in chronological order. Both projects will be carried on by committees working under the patronage of Eugene Cardinal Tisserant, Archivist of the Holy Roman Church.

Manuscripts (Summer, 1958) reports that Marquette University in Milwaukee is planning an archives center for American Catholic newspapers and periodicals. It is already gathering originals of every Catholic periodical that has been published in the United States, and obtaining microfilm copies of those that are unavailable.

In 1953 Père J. Seynaeve published at the University of Louvain a number of previously unknown papers of Cardinal Newman under the title of *Newman 1861-1863 Inspiration Papers.* They had not been published by the cardinal himself because he obviously felt that his ideas on the inspiration of the Bible needed further clarification. Now Père Seynaeve in Fascicle 31 of the *Supplément to the Dictionnaire de la Bible* writes forty-eight columns on Newman's scriptural scholarship in which he points out defects, but, in general he shows frank admiration for the cardinal's genius in dealing with the inspired word.

Lewis Hanke of the University of Texas is interested in the question of whether it would be useful to have prepared a study of the organization and history of the Catholic Church with the particular object of familiarizing Latin Americanists in this country with the fundamental knowledge of the subject. J. Lloyd Mecham of the same university hopes within a year to begin work on a revision of his volume, *Church and State in Latin America,* originally published in 1934.

Anyone who knows of the whereabouts of manuscript material pertaining to Bolivar, Miranda, Sucre, or Páez is asked to advise J. Leon Helguera of North Carolina State College, Raleigh, North Carolina.

The Department of the Army has made arrangements in its Office of the Chief of Military History in Washington for private scholars to work by appointment as associates in military history. The object is to encourage research and writing which will supplement that of the Army's historians, and to extend the range of public and professional knowledge and interest in military affairs. Inquiries should be addressed to the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army, Washington 25, D. C.

A multi-volume work along the general lines of the *Dictionary of American Biography* has been projected for outstanding women in American history to be called *Notable Women of America*. The editorial offices are located at Radcliffe College where the Women's Archives of America are housed. Wilbur K. Jordan, president of Radcliffe College, Arthur M. Schlesinger, professor emeritus of American history at Harvard University, and Edward T. James, associate editor of the *Dictionary of American Biography*, will serve as the editorial committee. A committee of consultants has been appointed to advise the editors. Annabelle M. Melville, professor of history in the Teachers College at Bridgewater, Massachusetts, and author of the new biography of Jean Cheverus, first Bishop of Boston, as well as lives of Mother Elizabeth Seton and Archbishop Carroll, has been named to advise on American Catholic women who will merit a place in the new dictionary.

Boston College has been featuring during the autumn and winter an impressive list of public lectures some of which will be of interest to our readers. For example, Martin C. D'Arcy, S.J., spoke on October 23 on "A Christian View of History," and four days later Carlton J. H. Hayes gave the first of the Coe Lectures on "Europe and American Civilization." In December Samuel Eliot Morison had as his subject "Columbus," and Allan Nevins on December 10 chose "Business and American Civilization." Later in the winter Bruce Catton will lecture on "The Civil War: The Structure of Tragedy" (March 6); Charles Callan Tansill on "America Faces Russia" (March 18); and the final lecture in the Coe Series will be given by Oscar Handlin on April 20 on "The Impact of the Immigrant on American Civilization."

Xavier University, Cincinnati, sponsored a conference on Inter-American affairs, October 31 and November 1, the theme of which was: The United States and Latin America Look at Each Other—the Present and the Future. Those participating included Maurice Bernbaum and J. Manuel Espinosa of the Department of State; Nicolas Arroyo, Ambassador of Cuba to the United States; and George Wythe of the Department of Commerce, as well as scholars from a number of universities.

At the beginning of the current academic year Marquette University commenced an Institute of Latin American Affairs, offering an interdepartmental minor which will include courses in history, Spanish, political science, economics and anthropology. The co-ordinator of the new program is Eugene H. Korth, S.J., who will be assisted by John Lynch, director of the modern language program, and James Roherty, assistant professor of political science. It is hoped that the institute will eventually lead to work on the graduate level.

Philip Hughes, professor of English history in the University of Notre Dame, delivered the second of the annual Countess Mary Young Moore lectures at St. Joseph's Seminary in New York on October 18. Monsignor Hughes' subject was "The Seminary Priests and the Heroic Age of English Catholicism."

During May and June of 1958, A. L. Gabriel, Director of the Mediaeval Institute at the University of Notre Dame, delivered a series of lectures in various European universities, including Oxford, Strasbourg, the Sorbonne, and the Catholic Institute of Paris, on student life in the mediaeval universities, the field of his special interest and research.

The University of Notre Dame announced that the *Review of Politics* has reached its twentieth year of publication, and to commemorate this anniversary, two special issues were planned (October, 1958, and January, 1959) as well as a special volume of essays, *The Image of Man: A Review of Politics Reader.*

The Historical Society of Southern California, the oldest society of its kind on the Pacific Coast, celebrated its seventy-fifth anniversary on November 1, 1958. The September issue of its *Quarterly* is dedicated to a literary and pictorial review of these past years.

The Sociedad Peruana de Historia of Lima, whose membership is largely made up of younger historians, such as Pedro M. Benvenutto Murrieta, Alberto Tauro del Pino, Carlos Radicati di Primeglio, and Ella Dunbar Temple has, after a number of years of editorial silence, given new and abundant signs of life with the publication in December, 1957, of the latest number of its *Revista*. This number is no ordinary one because it is a large book of 653 pages, and it represents the work of about four years on the part of a society whose members have always been proud to subscribe to (and practice) the best canons of historical scholarship. There are articles by Daniel Valcárcel, the late William J. Entwistle of Oxford, Teodoro L. Meneses, and Juan B. Lastres. Another section of the vast bio-bibliography of the lamented José de la Riva-Aguero y Osma, the outstanding benefactor of the Catholic University of Peru, is here published, the patient work of Miss Temple and Messrs. Benvenutto Murrieta, Radicati de Primeglio, Tauro, and Ricardo Arbulú Vargas. In another article Luís J. Basto Girón describes the bundles of seventeenth-century documents dealing with visitations in the archiepiscopal archives of Lima. Finally Mr. Tauro has prepared an edition of the unpublished works of the liberal Peruvian priest of the nineteenth century, Francisco de Paula González Vigil, whose dislike for Pius IX seems to have been mutual. The present number of *Documenta* is dedicated to the memory of Pedro Cieza de León, on the fourth centenary of the appearance of his general chronicle of Peru, and of José Toribio Medina, the great Chilean bibliographer. ". . . el tiempo consume la memoria de las cosas," wrote Cieza de León, "de tal manera, que si no es por rastros y vías exquisitas, en lo venidero no se sabe con verdadera noticia lo que pasó." The Sociedad Peruana de Historia is to be commended for being aware of this trick of time and above all for reacting to it.

For an attractive way in which to introduce children to the history of the Old and New Testaments and to the history of the Church from the apostolic age to the present time, it would be difficult to improve upon the three-volume *Book of the Kingdom*. Cast in the form of a youngster's inquiries addressed to his priest uncle, the work is edited by Leonard Boase, S.J., of Wimbledon College, who was assisted by Mabel Quinn and a group of collaborators. It contains over 1,000 illustrations among which are fifty plates in color and thirteen color strips. These illustrations are frequently chosen from the masterpieces of sacred art, e.g., Pinturicchio's "Canonization of St. Catherine of Siena" accompanying the discussion on canonizations and the famous statue of St. Cecilia in the church of that name at Rome which introduces the material concerning martyrs. The three volumes are entitled respectively: "The Coming of the King";

"The Founding of the Kingdom"; and "The Kingdom in Being." The work is published by Virtue & Company, Ltd., 53 Cannon Street, London, E.C. 4, England, and sells for $20.00.

The first volume of Jean Daniélou's, *Théologie du Judéo-Christianisme: Histoire des doctrines chrétiennes avant Nicée* (Tournai, Desclee, 1958, 457 pp.), discusses the sources and the intellectual milieu of Judaeo-Christianity and gives an outline of the major Christian beliefs and institutions in the primitive period.

Stewart Perowne's, *The Later Herods* (Hodder and Stoughton, 25s) depicts the political background of the New Testament.

Peter Bamm's *Early Sites of Christianity* (Faber and Faber) is now available in English translation. It is a diary of a journey through Greece, Turkey, and the Arab countries.

In October, A. and C. Black published J. N. D. Kelly's *Early Christian Doctrines* which is devoted to the period from the first to the middle fifth century.

The truly significant work of Jean-Paul Audet, *La Didachè, Instructions des Apôtres* (Etudes Bibliques, Gabalda, 1958, 498 pp.) views the Didache as a set of instructions by itinerant missionaries working out of a Mother-Church in Syria. He suggests that the manual was produced in two stages, but by a single author well before the close of the first century, with some subsequent interpolations.

Elie Griffe's, *La Gaule chrétienne à l'epoque romaine,* vol. 2, part 1 (Paris, Picard, 1957), deals with the Church and the barbarians as well as the ecclesiastical organization in fifth-century Gaul.

Joseph Gill, S.J.'s, "A Tractate About the Council of Florence Attributed to George Amiroutzes," in *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History,* IX (April, 1958), contends that the treatise "About the Events in the Council of Florence" is not the work of Amiroutzes, who attended the synod, but a much later compilation, possibly from the pen of Coresius (d. c. 1654) who is known as an active opponent of the Latin Church.

The eighty miniatures, reproduced in color from the original manuscript, which appear in Johannes Kerer, *Statuta Collegii Sapientiae. The Statutes of the Collegium Sapientiae in Freiburg University, 1497* (Lindau, Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1958, DM 52) give an incomparable picture of college life at the end of the Middle Ages.

W. A. Gatherer, in his translation and edition of George Buchanan's, *The Tyrannous Reign of Mary Stewart* (Edinburgh University Press 25s), judges this contemporary witness for the prosecution against Mary, Queen of Scots, to have composed a tract, "blatantly over-stated, inaccurate and dishonest."

The Imitation of Christ has interest not only as a guide in the area of ascetical practice but also as a witness to the reform efforts of the Brethren of the Common Life, active in the Netherlands, northern France, and the principalities of northwest Germany for many decades before the revolt of Luther. Although it is one of the most widely read books of all time, the problem of its authorship still escapes solution. In more recent years many scholars have ascribed at least partial authorship to some of the earlier Brethren such as Geert Groote, Gerald Zerbolt of Zutphen, Hendrik Mande, and concluded that Thomas à Kempis is a later compiler or reviser of their writings. Two years ago L. M. J. Delaissé submitted the autograph of the *Imitation* to paleographic and other scientific tests (*Le Manuscrit autographe de Thomas à Kempis et "L'Imitation de Jésus-Christ."* (Antwerp, 1956), thereby opening the controversy to further study. In fact, in the next year the Belgian Redemptorist, P. Debongnie, appeared as the new champion of the Thomas-thesis in *L'Auteur ou les auteurs de l'Imitation* (Louvain, 1957). Bernhard Spaapen, S.J., commenting on the most recent progress of the dispute, suggests that both Kempists and pre-Kempists could be brought closer together if they agreed upon a common concept for the term "author." An author in the usual sense is one who conceives a work and puts it into words. Thomas à Kempis, it would appear, conceived the *Imitation* and put it into words, and although the words and thoughts were largely those of earlier writers, his re-arrangement and additions might allow him to qualify as an author at least in a broader interpretation of the term. ["Der heutige Stand der Forschung über den Verfasser der 'Nachfolge Christi,'" *Geist und Leben* 31 (September, 1958) 303-308.]

Nauwelaerts, Louvain, has published H. van Laer's *Saint Paul de la Croix et le Saint-Siège, ler partie, 1721-1768,* which may be called to the attention of those concerned with the Congregation of the Passion.

The fourth volume of Frederick Copleston's *A History of Philosophy*, covering the period from Descartes to Leibniz, was published by Burns and Oates at the end of October.

With the appearance of a fourth volume, running from 1914-54, C. P. Groves' *The Planting of Christianity in Africa* (Lutterworth Press) completes its survey of twenty centuries.

Eugene H. Korth, S.J., who recently obtained his Ph.D. at the Institute of Latin American Studies of the University of Texas, with a dissertation on the activities of the Society of Jesus in colonial Chile, has been appointed acting head of the Department of History in Marquette University.

Salvador Martínez de Alva, an authority in international relations who received his master's degree from and for a time was instructor in Spanish at the Catholic University of America, has recently been named Mexico's Ambassador to Peru. Previously, he had been his country's highest diplomatic representative in Venezuela.

Norman F. Martin, S.J., who received his doctorate from the National University of Mexico in 1957, has published in Mexico a volume of interest to historians of the Catholic Church in Hispanic America, *Los Vagabundos en la Nueve España, Siglo XVI*, and has recently completed most of the research for a continuation of the same topic in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Having recovered from recent surgery, Father Martin is now teaching at the University of Santa Clara.

Thomas McGann, formerly of Harvard University, has been appointed associate professor of Latin American history at the University of Texas, replacing the recently deceased Carlos E. Castañeda.

John L. Phelan, whose new book, *The Hispanization of the Philippines: Spanish Aims and Filipino Response, 1565-1700*, will shortly be published, received a grant during the past summer from the American Philosophical Society to edit the ordinances of the Audiencia of Manila.

John W. Murphy, C.P.S., who has been teaching at Archbishop Stepinac High School for the last few years has been appointed an instructor in history at Fordham University.

W. Eugene Shiels, S.J., of Xavier University, Cincinnati, is at present on leave of absence at Canisius House in Evanston where he is working on a volume dealing with the history of the Spanish *patronato real.*

Mary O'Callaghan, R.S.C.J., has been appointed associate professor of social sciences in Maryville College, St. Louis. Mother O'Callaghan did her work for the doctorate at the University of California in Latin American history under the direction of the late Herbert Eugene Bolton.

Alceu Amoroso Lima, one of Brazil's leading men of letters and a leader in Catholic Action activities, is the first occupant of the newly founded chair of Brazilian studies in the Brazilian Institute of New York University. He and leading scholars from throughout the Americas will participate in the conference on Brazil to be held at the University's Washington Square Center on December 1-3. Brazil's ambassadors to the United Nations and the United States and the American Ambassador to Brazil, as well as Governor Nelson Rockefeller, Mayor Robert Wagner, and Dr. Heitor Villa-Lobos, who has written a new musical composition in the conference's honor, are among those who will be in attendance.

BRIEF NOTICES

BREZZI, PAOLO. *The Papacy. Its Origins and Historical Evolution.* (Westminster: Newman Press. Pp. xiii, 225. 1958. $3.50.)

The sub-title of this study offers a key to the author's approach to an unusually successful study of the papacy from at least two points of view. First of all, this work has genuine sweep. Ordinarily, the truly immense mass of historical work which the centuries have produced on and about the papacy concerns itself with a detailed study of periods and personalities. Granted that this type of minute scrutiny of the episodic history of the papacy is necessary and important, it sometimes leaves the student bemused by the trees, and unaware of the grandeur of the forest. In the case of Brezzi's study this difficulty is obviated. He has produced a vigorous and well managed tracing of the tremendously interesting development of the full significance of the papacy during the ages since its divine institution. The author does this with obvious control of the history and literature of the Christian centuries. In a word, the book not only covers much ground, but it covers the ground succinctly and well. It moves.

Then, too, Brezzi has produced a most useful and handy exemplification of the dogmatic thesis developed at length by Newman in his *Development of Christian Doctrine.* Professor Brezzi indicates clearly, and in most interesting fashion, the basic historical fact that it was the dangerous and shifting crises of the passing centuries which gradually brought out ever more clearly the full meaning and significance of the primacy of Peter and his successors. As the book proceeds, one can follow with fine satisfaction the extraordinary ways of divine Providence in developing the inner richness of the doctrine of the primacy down to our own era.

This study, short and even terse as it is, is to be recommended not only to those who know a great deal about the subject, but more especially to the students of our colleges and seminaries. It is also to be recommended to the intelligent laity who might be interested in a clear and appealing presentation of a specific illustration of a fundamental dogmatic truth. This truth is that the living Church, under the influence of the indwelling power of the Holy Ghost, ever teaches with constantly increasing clarity in intimate detail the inner meaning of God's revelation as originally given to His Church. Dr. Brezzi's book illustrates this truth most successfully. (CHARLES D. MCINNIS)

CLARK, SIR GEORGE NORMAN. *War and Society in the Seventeenth Century.* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1958. Pp. vii, 156. $3.50.)

This little volume presents Sir George Norman Clark's reflections upon war and various aspects of its relation to thought and society in seventeenth-century Europe. This community with its bellicose mediaeval heritage of a fighting nobility, code of honor, and idea of crusade considered war as an accepted social institution. War was a regular, normal mode of action for settling disputes in a society where peace was regarded from the more negative point of view as an absence of hostilities, rather than the idea of organized co-operation.

War in the seventeenth century was a collision of societies whose conflicting interests might be labeled as primarily religious, political, or economic. But whatever the designation, war as an institution enabled many of the nation-states to surmount the *mêlée* of European society, and served as an instrument of organization and consolidation. So much so, that the analogy of war to the duel of honor which was outlawed is not entirely appropriate, although the code of chivalry—a part of Europe's mediaeval and Renaissance past—had enormous influence upon the conduct of war. It was especially in the latter half of the seventeenth century that war came under the firm control of the sovereign states, and to this extent became more organized and more controlled. In this way war was made to play a constructive role in making the idea of an European community of nations more actual, more real.

The first four of the six chapters of this book constitute the Wiles Lectures which Sir George delivered in the Queen's University of Belfast in October, 1956. The last two chapters are republications of articles that appeared previously to this series, but whose subject matter is illustrative of the general theme of this volume. The fifth chapter details the reaction of the European community to an attack from without in the depredations of the Barbary Corsairs. The sixth chapter is a reprint of the Creighton Memorial Lecture which the author delivered at the University of London on November 15, 1948. In it he examines the cyclic idea of war and peace in writings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and indicates the genesis of this idea in European thought. The volume is indexed, and is supplied with an appendix listing books and articles by Sir George Clark and others on the subject. (DONALD L. SIEBERT)

COCHRANE, CHARLES NORRIS. *Christianity and Classical Culture: A Study of Thought and Action from Augustus to Augustine.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1957. Pp. vii, 523. $2.95.)

This is a reprinting in paper-back edition (a Galaxy Book) of a work first published in 1940, and again (with the text revised and corrected)

in 1944. The author, who died in 1946, was professor of Greek and Roman history in University College, Toronto. Since the earlier editions have been extensively and competently reviewed in both professional and non-professional journals (by Laistner in the *American Historical Review* [1941], by Momigliano in the *Journal of Roman Studies*, and by McGuire in this journal [1945], to mention some of the more important appreciations by professional historians), the present issue requires only a brief notice.

Although the sub-title speaks of both "thought and action," this book is much more a study of an intellectual revolution than a history of events of the military, political, economic, and even social order. This is a limitation which the author had a right to impose upon himself, and within this limitation the book merits the praise with which it was first received. The present reviewer would like not merely to repeat but to magnify that praise. Professor Cochrane was not another Gibbon (who is?), but his ability to analyze the intellectual content of a society and to discuss ideas with clarity and penetration is superlative. Besides, he possessed to an unusual degree a quality important to historians of thought, and possessed to a lesser degree by Gibbon, viz., the quality of thinking and feeling vicariously. Gibbon was the intellectual prisoner of the eighteenth century, but Professor Cochrane was able to write with understanding and sympathy of two quite different cultures—that of pagan, and that of Christian, Rome. Of course, sympathy alone is not enough, and that a man with great prejudices can write great history, the *Decline and Fall* amply demonstrates. But *Christianity and Classical Culture* is never superficial and, for all its breadth, is often profound. It is strongly recommended not as a substitute for, but as a supplement to (and an important one, at that) the monumental work of the great English historian. (WILLIAM F. MCDONALD)

CUMMING, WILLIAM P. (Ed.). *The Discoveries of John Lederer with Unpublished Letters by and about Lederer to Governor John Winthrop, Jr., and an Essay on the Indians of Lederer's Discoveries by Douglas L. Rights and William P. Cumming.* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press; Winston-Salem, North Carolina: Wachovia Historical Society. 1958. Pp. xi, 148. $5.00.)

John Lederer was a German physician who made three journeys of exploration between March, 1669, and September, 1670, from the tidewater settlements of Virginia to the interior. He was the first European to explore the Piedmont and the Blue Ridge Mountains and to leave a record of his discoveries. The present book contains the first adequately edited

presentation of Lederer's comments on the geology, botany, zoology, and Indian tribes of the area which he explored. The original account done in Latin was translated by William Talbot who had the work printed in London in 1672. The Latin text did not survive and few copies of the quarto volume in English are today to be found. The last reprinting of it was in 1912. In 1674-1675 Lederer was engaged in medical practice in Connecticut. The letters between him and Governor Winthrop which are here given in full for the first time are printed through the permission of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The letters about Lederer have the complete text of the parts concerning him and abstracts of the remaining portions.

In addition to the notes of Mr. Cumming, there is an informative essay on "The Indians of Lederer's Discoveries," written by the editor in collaboration with the late Douglas L. Rights, author of *The American Indian in North Carolina* (Durham, 1947). Extensive bibliographical data is supplied, and the illustrations include Lederer's map, Farrer's "A Mapp of Virginia," and Mercator's "Virginiae Item et Floridae" as well as a letter from Lederer to Winthrop dated April 14, 1675. The end papers are a modern map of Lederer's explorations by W. H. Gaines and W. A. Christian, Jr. This volume is a credit to the editorial ability of Mr. Cumming and to the meticulous craftsmanship of the University of Virginia Press. (JAMES H. BAILEY)

DAHL, SVEND. *History of the Book*. First English Edition. (New York: Scarecrow Press. 1958. Pp. v, 279. $6.00.)

The matter-of-fact form of title for this publication in no way indicates the ambitious task which the book attempts to achieve. It seeks to present in a unified account the various important phases of the history of the book, viz., manuscripts, printing, illustrations, binding, the book-trade, and libraries, thereby showing the history of the book in perspective as an essential factor in the history of culture. In compact form this volume, competently planned and delightfully written, is a veritable mine of information on the 5,000-year history of the book, from the invention of Egyptian papyrus to the destruction of book collections in World War II and the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls. It seems almost incredible that so much information could be integrated into a single small volume. In addition, the author finds occasion to weave many well selected illustrations into the text, even full-page ones, to help clarify his points. An extensive eleven-page bibliography, broken down by phases, is appended.

Unfortunately, much of the wealth of information packed between the covers is not available for ready use because of the lack of an index. One

has to re-read portions of the book to locate desired material on cuneiform writing, palimpsests, miniatures, water-marks, union catalogs (treated in the beginning, in the middle, and toward the end of the book), or on Calimachus, Petrarch, Sankt Gallen, the Medici Library, and a long list of other interesting topics. This is all the more regrettable since some of the brief treatises are gems, e.g., the explanation of the vast difference between wood-cuts and copper-plate engravings (p. 158).

The Scarecrow Press method of reproducing a book from typed copy makes for economy in production, but it also explains how misspellings and lack of uniformity in division of syllables and in spacing between the letters can creep in. This is the first English edition of a revised Danish edition, brought up-to-date in various respects. The first edition had already appeared in French and German translations. The encyclopedic work is especially recommended for acquisition by small libraries and by private libraries which are not in a position to buy several expensive treatises on this cultural topic. (OLIVER L. KAPSNER)

DEMPSEY, WILLIAM S. *The Story of the Catholic Church in the Isle of Man.* (Billinge, County Lancaster: Birchley Hall Press. 1958. Pp. 186. 15s.)

In this small volume Father Dempsey has traced with the aid of what scanty material is available the story of the Catholic Church in the Isle of Man, a corner of the vast British Commonwealth of Nations not too familiar to the general reading public. The Isle of Man, once an independent kingdom, lies northward in the Irish Sea and is, therefore, surrounded by the larger, and historically more important units of the United Kingdom, i.e., by England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales. The author has been forced by the paucity of recorded material to fill in his story by indirection, demonstrating what probably occurred in the island as a natural reaction to important events and changes in the more fully recorded histories of neighboring countries. The story begins in the dim ages when Iberian and Celtic peoples were establishing themselves in the British Isles. This part of the book will be found both interesting and informative by the general reader. Christianity was introduced from Ireland and Iona, and according to tradition the great St. Patrick himself visited the island. The memory of these early contacts with the Irish missionaries is enshrined in many place names. The history of Man comes into fuller perspective with the arrival of the Vikings in the eleventh century. Around 1075 a contingent of Norse adventurers led by one Godred wrested the Isle of Man from the Norse King of Dublin, and their leader was proclaimed King of Man. Godred's dynasty continued into the thirteenth

century, and through the conversion of the Norse invaders a new impetus was given to the expansion and development of Catholicism in the island. In 1266 the Isle of Man was handed over to the King of Scotland by Magnus, King of Norway, and a period of interference from the northern kingdom began. In the reign of Henry IV of England (1399-1413), Sir John Stanley took possession of Man in the name of his royal master, and from the fifteenth century to the present day the island has been under the English crown. So it was as a dependency of England that the Catholics of Man faced the so-called Reformation. The repercussions of that revolutionary event were, however, less spectacular and sanguinary in the island than on the mainland of the larger kingdom. The Catholic community dwindled in time to an insignificant minority as elsewhere, but the roots planted in the early Middle Ages remained and in modern times the Catholic Church in Man has enjoyed a remarkable renascence.

This little book is a timely and solid contribution to the general history of the Church, and should be welcomed by those who desire to further widen their knowledge of that history. It contains five interesting illustrations and maps showing the location of ancient shrines and modern parish churches. There is also an appendix of five articles and a chronological list of the bishops of Man beginning in the fifth century and continuing to the extinction of the hierarchy in the sixteenth century. A list of Catholic bishops of Man since the re-erection of the hierarchy in the nineteenth century is also given. (William Wilfrid Bayne)

Eberlein, Harold Donaldson and Cortlandt Van Dyke Hubbard. *Historic Houses of George-Town & Washington City.* (Richmond: Dietz Press, Inc. 1958. Pp. xiv, 480. $15.00.)

This well written volume has 100 halftone illustrations; deals with thirty-two historic buildings in George-Town as well as thirty elsewhere in the District of Columbia; begins with a brief historical sketch of "Early George-Town"; and has a preface by Richard H. Howland, president of the National Trust for Historic Preservation and former professor of the history of architecture at the Johns Hopkins University. It is well done in every respect, and is a handsome volume. Each house and building which is made the subject of a sketch has national historical associations. The authors have emphasized the historic rather than the architectural features of the houses and buildings they have chosen for inclusion, but almost all of those included are, in fact, interesting as examples of very good architecture. Some of the buildings described have been torn down.

Throughout the volume the authors give the precise location of the building being described, instead of the vague generalities which character-

ize various other books which purport to cover essentially the same field. There is every indication that the authors have been careful and thorough in their research and the final result is pleasing and satisfactory.

Appropriately, the longest sketch concerns the White House. Naturally, Tudor Place, Evermay, Dumbarton House, Dumbarton Oaks, Decatur House, Blair House, and the Octagon are included. There is a brief account of the founding of George-Town College, 1789. Considerable space is given to Daniel Carroll's home, Duddington, and there is a brief account of Barry's Chapel. The Anderson House in the grounds of the Soldiers Home which was used by Lincoln as a summer residence is included, as is Sydney, portions of which are now incorporated in St. Thomas Hall at the Catholic University of America. (JOHN B. HEFFERNAN).

GARDINER, C. HARVEY. *Martín López: Conquistador Citizen of Mexico.* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 1958. Pp. ix, 193. $6.00.)

The difficulties of the researcher in uncovering the life and contribution of lesser men in history often serve as a barrier to knowledge of a period as seen through their eyes. Yet, to the persistent the rewards for uncovering the underlings are often gratifying. Professor Gardiner, by piecing together the spare and scattered record of the life of Martín López, has contributed a view of the conquest and post-conquest that is rarely seen. The enduring monument of conquistador López will always be his shipbuilding, particularly the building of the brigantines for use on Lake Texcoco, for without these the final assault by Cortés on Tenochtitlan could not have been successful. It is to be hoped that Gardiner's work will insure modern recognition of that contribution. The life of Martín López in the post-conquest period, when he stood disillusioned and bitter, is commonplace yet of value to the student of the Spanish Empire. With the other lesser conquistadors, López stood with palms outstretched to obtain grants and other emoluments from the crown. In a long life which exceeded the terms of three viceroys and two archbishops, the palm of López was never satisfactorily filled. He and others petitioned the crown and fought through the courts to obtain what they felt was their just due as conquistadors.

Working with sparse documentation Professor Gardiner is forced in many instances to fill gaps by supposition. Yet, as he unfolds his story to the 1570's the reader is not always conscious of the specific lack of knowledge of López. This is a good narrative, one which interestingly and profitably sets forth the trials and tribulations of the "citizen-creators" of New Spain as they consolidated the conquest and settled down to administer and live in the new empire. (MARTIN J. LOWERY)

GARVIN, JOSEPH N., C.S.C., and JAMES A. CORBETT (Eds.). *The Summa Contra Haereticos Ascribed to Praepositinus of Cremona.* [Vol. XV of Publications in Mediaeval Studies.] (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 1958. Pp. lviii, 302. $7.50.)

It was George Lacombe who, with certain hesitations, hit upon Praepositinus of Cremona, chancellor at Paris from 1206 to 1210, as the author of this work. His arguments have not found general acceptance among scholars, and the present editors of the *Summa* do not take a position on the probably insoluble question. It is, however, certain that the work was composed at the end of the twelfth century or very soon after 1200, for some of the ten surviving manuscripts date from the first half of the thirteenth century. None of them was actually seen by the editors, who worked from photostats and microfilms. Nevertheless, relying on catalogs and the remarks of other scholars, they painstakingly describe each. The relationship of the manuscripts among themselves is so amazingly complex that one cannot but admire, not only the careful scholarship, but especially the infinite patience of the editors, who must often have been tempted to despair. So complicated was their task that they even apologize for the excessively inclusive character of the critical apparatus. The heretics with whom the *Summa* deals were those who were so prominent in the last half of the twelfth century—Cathari, Pasagini, and various anticlerical groups who concerned themselves especially with ecclesiastical ownership and the exercise of secular authority by clerics. In their introduction the editors summarize what the author has to say in regard to each sect—the tenets of the heretics and the contrary arguments of their Catholic opponents. (ANSELM G. BIGGS)

HAMEROW, THEODORE S. *Restoration, Revolution and Reaction: Economics and Politics in Germany, 1815-1871.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1958. Pp. ix, 347. $6.00.)

With a skillful and critical management of statistics from the period, the author's hypothesis is developed in terms of the growth and decay of the revolutionary spirit of 1848 in Germany among vast multitudes of German artisans and peasants who, in the two generations between 1815 and 1871, were utterly deprived of the livelihood guaranteed them from time immemorial by their status in guild and manor. Midway through this social and economic cataclysm, which is so well documented by Mr. Hamerow, the expropriated apprentices and serfs were galvanized into mob action by their own misery and the resounding phrases of "liberalism." But the able though factionalized delegates in the Paulskirche could not hold the mob in check or simultaneously satisfy its hunger and the demands of the new

aristocracy of talent; they were eventually reduced to the ironic expedient of appealing for Prussian troops who had been prohibited from taking the oath in support of their constitution for a united Germany.

Indeed, while Mr. Hamerow appears to have considered all aspects of the failure of the Revolution of 1848 in tracing the growth of the social and economic particularism which precluded a workable, German domestic policy and program, he might have given more emphasis to the Parliament's ruinous dependence on the military and to the contest between Austria and Prussia for hegemony in Germany. The delegates were caught in the dilemma of either doing nothing about German national interests or of strengthening the armies which could and did become the spearhead of reaction. If, however, one considers the statistics with which he has reinforced our understanding of the genesis and failure of the revolutionary movement, Mr. Hamerow has made a substantial contribution to the knowledge of an era and a crisis which has so strongly diverted our fortunes along the path of materialism and militarism. It should be added as well that this book is highly readable and the excellent biographical compilation and analysis contained in its appendices will be particularly useful to both student and instructor. (COLIN F. BROWN)

HAMMON, WALTER, O.F.M. *The First Bonaventure Men.* (St. Bonaventure: St. Bonaventure University Press. 1958. Pp. xii, 249. $3.00.)

St. Bonaventure University has long awaited a chronicler, and Walter Hammon, O.F.M., has made an excellent beginning by covering the early years from 1856 to 1886. His research spade, ranging over the period and exhuming many colorful details, has turned up a factual and readable account of St. Bonaventure's first thirty years. Students of American Catholic history will cherish the hope that Father Hammon will somehow find the time to give us another volume covering the seventy-two years from 1886 to 1958. Three men—an American, an Irishman, and an Italian—combined their efforts in the rearing of St. Bonaventure University. The American, the far-seeing John Timon, first Bishop of Buffalo, secured the necessary permissions from the Holy See and the Minister General of the Franciscan Order; the Irishman, Nicholas Devereaux, supplied the money and the land; the Italian, Father Pamphilus da Magliano, became the founder and first president. Side by side with the history of the college, and inseparable from it, went the founding of the Allegany Sisters of St. Francis, the beginnings of the Franciscan Sisters of Joliet, and the establishing of the Franciscan Custody, now the Province of the Immaculate Conception. The author has skillfully woven these happenings into the texture of his story.

In writing this book Father Hammon has constantly been mindful of Leo XIII's admonition in his letters on historical studies that it is the first law of history that it dare say nothing which is false nor fear to utter anything that is true. The archives of the Province of the Immaculate Conception of the Order of Friars Minor was the basic depository for the documents used and although the sources of quotations are contained in the body of the study, yet the lack of footnotes constitutes a serious deficiency. Notwithstanding this is an important book for students of the history of the American Church. (HERBERT J. CLANCY)

HEWITT, H. J. *The Black Prince's Expedition of 1355-1357.* (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc. 1958. Pp. ix, 226. $6.50.)

The title of this readable monograph is not entirely apt. The author does not discuss purely military and political aspects, except to provide a base for the consideration of significant though less well known features of fourteenth-century warfare. He finds justification for yet another work on this expedition—and substantiates his case by generous documentation—by telling of the men who did the fighting, who they were, how they were recruited, transported, and provisioned, their motives for joining the expedition, how they conducted themselves on the march, how they were captured, ransomed, and rewarded. By this time the feudal levy was a thing of the past. Even magnates were under contract, many of the rank and file were impressed, and a goodly sprinkling of murderers and the like took up arms as a means of returning to normal civil life. The author discusses the procurement of materiel such as bows and bowstrings, and the manifold problems related to the expanding use of horses in late mediaeval warfare. He states that "Large scale destruction and the constant use of fire had become a regular practice," although he is less concerned than French writers with making the reader aware of this cruel phase of the Black Prince's progress. One might also detect some English coloring in the author's criticism of the French knights' failure to employ devices as "the feint, the surprise," since the English have been taken to task precisely for the adoption of such non-chivalrous tactics. The generalship of the prince appears all the brighter for the deficiencies of the French, although the victory at Poitiers is attributed to the experience and cohesiveness the prince's army had gained during the previous year's campaigning and to the inexplicable withdrawal of the "army" of the Duke of Orleans. Short and unsympathetic shrift is given the untiring efforts of papal envoys to prevent or halt the fighting. The author has included maps, several appendices, and an index in his interesting and highly informative study. (JOSEPH H. DAHMUS)

HUOT-PLEROUX, PAUL. *Histoire de la musique religieuse. Des origines à nos jours.* (Paris. Presses Universitaires de France. 1957. Pp. viii, 455. 1,500 frs.)

The keynote for this excellent book is sounded in the preface by Norbert Dufourcq who remarks that the papal encyclicals have urged that music for divine services be "holy, excellent, and universal," and that Father Huot-Pleuroux has here given an answer to the Christian troubled by the question as to just what is religious music. In his introduction the author, who is at present professor of history in the major seminary of Bensançon, intimates that in this very difficult subject there are many problems to which a satisfactory answer cannot be given. Up to the sixteenth century nearly all music was religious in character, and the great classic composers like Purcell, Bach, Charpentier, and Delalande devoted a large part of their time and genius to religious themes. Father Huot-Pleuroux's intention is not to write for specialists, but rather to initiate students into the field of sacred music, and this by limiting himself to Christian vocal music of the occidental world. The volume includes a detailed literary and musical bibliography, a discography, and an index. The four major sections treat, first, Gregorian chant, then polyphony from the tenth to the seventeenth century, while part three is devoted to "The Classical Concerted Style (1620-1760)," and the final part is entitled, "Decadence and Renewal from Mozart to Honegger (1760-1950)."

According to the author, the French at least owe the chanting of the Gregorian melodies in our day to Pepin the Short who introduced them at Metz. He claims that through the medium of the trope Gregorian chant brought about the birth of the popular song. "In fact," says Father Huot-Pleroux, "all occidental music can be attributed to it in some way." What definitely killed Gregorian chant was polyphony. The ideal of melodic uniformity in the Middle Ages changed to total unity in a diversity of voices. The Schola Cantorum in France was responsible in 1896 for the continuing revival of Gregorian chant that had been begun in 1817 by Alexander Choron of the Royal Institute of Religious Music. Then the great laboratory of research, the Abbey of Solesmes, came upon the scene with its brilliant scholars. The Vatican editions of 1905 and 1908 replaced the old Medecean text and through the work of Solesmes Gregorian chant has become again "sung prayer."

Father Huot-Pleroux naturally slants his emphasis toward the French point of view which is, perhaps, most noticeable in the final pages where contemporary French music is treated, and where no mention is made of other composers except briefly those of Germany and Italy. In the epilogue the entire work is tied together and the strong point is made that there is no one religious music. As the author says, just what makes music religious

remains an open question; his book gives some of the possible answers. (JAMES W. KELLY)

LAWSON, EDWARD W. *The Saint Augustine Historical Society and Its "Oldest House."* (St. Augustine: The Author. 21 Joiner Street. 1957. Pp. 73.)

A controversy, brewing for some years, as to the authenticity of various historic sites and edifices in St. Augustine, Florida, is again brought forward in this succinct, well-documented booklet. Particularly stressed is the case of the so-called "oldest house," owned by the St. Augustine Historical Society and open to the public for many years as "The Oldest House in the United States," and later, simply as the "Oldest House." The author, a member of the executive committee of the St. Augustine Historical Society since 1948, has demonstrated a personal, scholarly interest in the subject over a long period. A native of Dutchess County, New York, he was registered as a professional engineer in Florida in 1922 and in 1938 was employed as Spanish translator for the society. He is also the author of *The Discovery of Florida and Its Discoverer, Juan Ponce de Leon,* published in 1946.

His latest publication tells briefly of the foundation of the St. Augustine Historical Society in 1884 as a small study group interested in natural history under the leadership of Dr. Dewitt Webb, a physician, and of its development and change of interest. Dr. Webb seems to have been the natural leader and driving force until his death in 1917 and to have been generally respected by his associates. It was in 1917 that the society first considered the purchase of the "oldest house" and Webb seems to have been opposed to this transaction. Documentation consists of such sources as county archives, old tourist guides, *Spanish Land Grants in Florida,* photostats, court depositions, and items from the Archivo General de Indias in Seville. Minutes of the society meetings form the background for the argument. The City of St. Augustine is involved in the affair through an effort on its part to adjust claims and counterclaims to the authenticity of its historic sites and various individuals constitute opposition to the society and its claims. As recently as 1957 the matter had not been settled and Mr. Lawson, who thinks its clarification is long overdue, is waging a personal campaign toward that end. His is a laudable effort in the direction of historical integrity. (SISTER MARGARET HELEN LYNCH)

LEWIS, OSCAR (Ed.). *The Autobiography of the West: Personal Narratives of the Discovery and Settlement of the American West.* (New York: Henry Holt and Co. 1958. Pp. vii, 310. $5.00.)

The exploration and settlement of the western one-third of the United States holds unusual interest for a large number of American readers. In

this book Oscar Lewis gives them a varied selection of rather solid material, taken from the words of the pioneers themselves. Letters, diaries, printed and unprinted journals and reports, all have been drawn upon for this first-hand account of the winning of the West. These Mr. Lewis has woven together, with some skill, by his own introductions and comments. A good many well known names are here: Pedro de Castañeda, Cabeza de Vaca, Lewis and Clark, John C. Frémont, Francis Parkman, Sam Clements and others. There are lesser names as well whose accounts are no less interesting and significant. A few of the contributors are not identified. Here are the Sapnish explorers and the first settlers of old California; here are the trading ships of the French and English and Russians. Then the Spanish give way to the Americans, and we meet the covered wagons, the gold seekers, the hunters and trappers, the guides like Kit Carson, and women captured by the Indians, the overland stage, the cattle kings, the pony express, and the iron horse.

If there is anything lacking in this panoramic treatment it is religion. This reviewer missed Serra and Kino and Lamy and De Smet and even Sister Blandina. Certainly they have something to contribute to this "autobiography." But this is a good book and worth having for anyone interested in this particular phase of American history. There is an index of authors and sources. (Aloysius Croft)

Macklem, Michael. *The Anatomy of the World: Relations between Natural and Moral Law from Donne to Pope.* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1958. Pp. viii, 139. $3.50.)

This study traces the concept of nature as disjointed by the Fall, which under the influence of the new astronomy came to include the celestial bodies also, to the rehabilitation of nature as embracing the natural order of creation. There was a similar movement of ideas away from the doctrine of the corruption of man with the conflict between reason and emotion toward a view that moral reason was ultimately an instinct toward benevolence. The culmination of the traditional view is found in Burnet's *Sacred Theory of the Earth* which attempted a "scientific" interpretation of the effects of the Fall and the Flood on material nature; the culmination of the newer concepts appeared in Pope's *Essay on Man:* "The gen'ral ORDER, since the world began,/ Is kept in Nature, and is kept in Man." As Dr. Macklem points out, one of the implications of this new belief is "that man is redeemed not in Christ but in Adam." It was partly through the answers to Burnet, and to the commentaries on Newton's *Principia,* that the new concept of the order of nature emerged. The new concept of the moral order, however, had even more deeply rooted theological traditions against it as well as such contemporaries as Hobbes with his theory

of the natural state of war between men. The idea of benevolence, however, finally prevailed even in the pulpit and, incidentally, presented us in literature with a new kind of hero.

The historical importance of the development of this optimistic view of nature and of moral evil would be difficult to overemphasize. Within the space of his brief book Dr. Macklem is unable to multiply examples or to trace complex backgrounds, but the reader would gain perspective if there had been some further indication of the exegetical differences of opinion instead of a footnote to an unpublished lecture series. Again it might have been fruitful to explore somewhat the extent to which Calvin's extreme doctrine of the total depravity of man was the point from which the pendulum began its swing toward the belief in man's benevolence, or at least that it shared that position with Hobbes. Perhaps, it is a final compliment to the volume to suggest that there should have been more of it. (KERBY NEILL)

MASON, ALPHEUS THOMAS. *The Supreme Court from Taft to Warren.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1958. Pp. xv, 250. $4.95.)

That judges are mere mouthpieces of eternal constitutional principles this book labels a myth and sets about to dispel by exposing the human predilections that control the judiciary. Though both Taft and Hughes fictioned for the public a transcendent tribunal towering above transient tumults, their courts, it is charged, were really "super-legislatures" in which current philosophies struggled for supremacy. The author's case for judicial law-making will cause many anguished readers to fret: "How, then, does the Court's function differ from that of Congress?"—"It provides a final forum in which public policy is rationalized and vindicated." "Its decisions are likely to be more reliable . . . because all questions must be squared with reason and authority." Critics will remain skeptical. They might also protest that proponents of "sociological" decisions cannot legitimately invoke the spirit of Brandeis, whose "facts" were aimed at finding grounds to justify, not negate, legislation. This is clear from his dissent in *Burns v. Bryan,* as Mason himself honestly points out.

This informative book invites other challenges. Cannot a good case be urged for Taft's "massing" the court in order to make it a more authoritative oracle—the same motive prompting Marshall, the first "masser," to suppress *seriatim* opinions? Perhaps today's court would serve the nation better if it curbed its "anarchic tendencies" in favor of "integrated statements," as suggested by Professor Carl Swisher. In his astute treatment of judicial review and majority rule, the author acutely analyzes the contrasting theories of Stone and Frankfurter. But some may disagree with

the statement that "the founding fathers insisted" that popular government must never be allowed to go so far as to abridge individual rights. The First and Tenth Amendments were added partly to allow the states to preserve institutions restricting rights of minorities. In defending the right to expose and criticize (although he personally applauds the present court), Mason asserts that the fathers wanted no government agency to operate in secret. Yet the senate until 1794 sat behind closed doors as pre-ordained. The Vinson and the Warren courts are painted with too broad a brush in contrast to the detailed portrayals of the Taft, Hughes, and Stone eras. Some may conclude that too many cubits are added to the stature of Stone, others that the figure of Hughes is not drawn to just proportions. Nonetheless, the scholarly Princeton professor has written a book that may be recommended as incisive, informative, thought-provoking, and filled with fresh insights into the judiciary. (WILLIAM O'BRIEN)

MATTHEWS, GEORGE T. *The Royal General Farms in Eighteenth-Century France.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1958. Pp. xii, 318. $5.50.)

The history of eighteenth-century France is replete with problems for the specialist and the non-specialist. Taxes, and the system in vogue in France under the Bourbon monarchy to assure their collection, is certainly not the least of these problems. The student of history who is not a specialist in matters economic will welcome this study, the object of which is "to give as clear a picture of the General Farms as possible and to estimate the efficiency of its operations" (p. vii).

There are three parts to this work. The first serves as a review of the evolution of France's fiscal system; the second presents many interesting facts concerning the various taxes such as salt, tobacco, etc., indicating the difficulties that had to be met in collecting them. The concluding part covers the organization and financial role of the Company of General Farmers and the fateful end of the company during the Revolution. An appendix summarizes many pertinent facts concerning the General Farms and the Company of General Farmers. Besides the usual bibliography there are two serviceable maps. Many a student who has lost his way in the maze that was the system of taxation in pre-revolutionary France will appreciate the information that is brought together here. It is probably an understatement to say that many students will find the reading of this work a difficult task, but it is not the author's fault. Mr. Matthews does very well with a subject which of its nature is complicated by the necessity of almost endlessly adducing figures of the amounts of money involved in the many transactions. The publishers have done their part well; marred only by

a nodding proofreader who let "was" stand for "has" (p. 110) and "at" for "as" (p. 110). But these slips do not impair the general impression of a work well done. (HAROLD L. STANSELL)

MAYNARD, THEODORE. *Great Catholics in American History.* (Garden City: Hanover House. 1957. Pp. 261. $3.75.)

This work is intended for the average reader; its aim is "to convey some idea of the development of the Catholic Church in the United States of America, not by means of the historical method, . . . but through picturing some figures of special interest, and in many instances those associated with them, if only by way of opposition to their work." One could hardly describe the volume better. It contains twenty-one biographical portraits, the briefest of which is less than eight pages in length, the longest fourteen pages. The period covered is approximately 300 years; the earliest figure portrayed is Isaac Jogues, the latest Alfred E. Smith. Except for some brief bibliographical notes at the end of the volume, there is none of the usual scientific apparatus. It is immediately obvious that this is not a work which will be much used by the professional historian, or even by the advanced amateur. Nonetheless, there are surely many to whom the book should offer profitable reading: those who do not have the time or the capacity to read more learned works; those whose interest must first be excited by lighter works before they can be brought to a serious study of history; those who wish to know, not much, but at least a little more about historical figures than their mere names and occupations.

Of course, not very much about the lives and deeds of twenty-one persons or about three centuries of history can be recited in 237 pages. It is possible to do scarcely more than state what were the goals, the problems, the difficulties, the conflicts, the disappointments, the successes. This the author has done well enough that the intended reader should readily get some idea of what was the special accomplishment of each of the figures portrayed, and as a result some idea of the foundations upon which rests the present structure of the Catholic Church in the United States. Not even the average reader should need to be reminded what a variety of talents, labors, and personalities has gone into the establishment and the development of the Church throughout the territory that is now the United States; but if he does need a reminder, he will surely get it in the reading of this book. The very names of those who are portrayed speak of that variety: Marquette, Serra, Carroll, Seton, Gallitzin, Hughes, De Smet, Mazzuchelli, Hecker, Demjanovich, *et al.* Some, perhaps, would question the author's choice of one or other of his subjects. However, this is a matter in which the element of personal preference must usually play a part.

Since this is a popular work, it is to be expected that it is easy reading. There are a few places where the writing lacks precision, with the result that the reader is confused or is given an erroneous impression; thus the author seems to imply that Gibbons was already a cardinal when he presided over the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore (p. 203). Here and there, too, are instances of bad proofreading, e.g., "perpetuated" for "perpetrated" (p. 133). It is to be hoped that Mr. Maynard's last volume will find its way to many average readers and that, having read it, they will be encouraged to pursue further the field of American Catholic history. (E. Robert Arthur)

Meagher, George T., C.S.C. *With Attentive Ear and Courageous Heart. A Biography of Mother Mary Kasper, Foundress of the Poor Handmaids of Jesus Christ.* (Milwaukee: Bruce Press. 1958. Pp. xii, 258. $4.00.)

Here is the story of the transformation of a lowly peasant maiden of an obscure German village into the remarkable foundress of a religious community. Kathrinchen Kasper was an ordinary girl of an ordinary family in a tiny village. Because she was sickly, her formal schooling totaled only about two full years. While still a child she felt a desire for the religious life which was remarkable in that she had never even seen a nun! When she was about twenty she passed from an ordinary girl to an unusual young woman. She and several companions formed the Association of Charity to care for the poor sick of the village. Although they lived with their families, they tried to practice the three vows of religious. In 1851 the local bishop approved of the new community of five, which Katherine called the Poor Handmaids of Jesus Christ. She became Sister Mary, but to her companions she was "Mother" Mary until her death forty-seven years later.

In 1951 Father Meagher, recently appointed chaplain of the American motherhouse of the Poor Handmaids of Jesus Christ at Donaldson, Indiana, was asked to write the biography of their foundress, Mother Mary Kasper (1820-1898). To capture the genuine spirit of this dynamic woman and to search out the authentic sources of information he spent three months in Dernbach, the quaint and peaceful village in western Germany, where she was born, lived, and died. This well written book is the result of his long and careful study. It gives a good picture of Germany in the nineteenth century, a time when many Catholics were anti-clerical, and almost Jansenistic in their outlook. We see the Poor Handmaids serving as nurses in the Seven Weeks and Franco-Prussian Wars. We see Mother Mary outwitting the civil authorities, especially during Bismarck's *Kulturkampf* when, in the battle of nerves, she cleverly managed to keep her community supplied with new members. The Poor Handmaids expanded to the United

States in 1868 where today, mostly in Indiana and Illinois, they number 700 members. Either pressing community affairs or poor health prevented Mother Mary from personally visiting her American missions. Though the greater part of her career was spent in struggling against the enemies of her community, the evening of her life was quiet and peaceful. Like every religious community the Poor Handmaids fondly hope that their foundress will be officially declared a saint. The exhumation of her body in 1950 was the first step in the process of her canonization, which is now making encouraging progress. Whether she will be canonized or not, this story of one who "listened to the voice" of the Master and "courageously obeyed" His commands can be an inspiration to all. (GENTIL KATOSKI)

MELLON, STANLEY. *The Political Uses of History: A Study of Historians in the French Restoration.* (Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1958. Pp. 226. $5.00.)

The special interest of this book lies in its successful attempt "to illuminate the politics of the French Restoration by examining the historical writing of the period" (p. 1). A comprehensive and well-documented analysis of the liberal writings of the time enables the author to develop the argument that the task of the liberals was to plead their case in face of the conservative government, to provide their position with a respectable tradition, and to divide the forces of the conservative coalition by pointing up the old rivalries between Gallicans and ultramontanes and between the aristocracy and the monarch. The liberal position emerges clearly as the author draws upon the writings of Mme. de Staël, Constant, Guizot, Carrion-Nisa, Augustin Thierry, Trognon *et al.* The reply of the conservatives and the special problems of the Gallican question are then treated. The book shows "the political uses of history" as far as the French Restoration period is concerned.

The minor thesis of the work, "That the writing of history in the French Restoration was a function of politics" (p. 1), is less successfully handled. The author's view that "it is not poetry but politics which accounts for the historical-mindedness of the Restoration" (p. 1) leads him into an oversimplified explanation of the genesis of the new historical spirit and practice which were then emerging in France. Surely politics can have been only one factor out of many which went into the development of the historical talent of Guizot, or of Augustin Thierry, or even of Michelet whose earliest works belong to this period. Also, the fact that the author treats as historians writers like de Staël, Constant, and Cousin tends to disappoint the reader who was led by the sub-title to expect a work of historiography. The distinction between a historian and a political theorist who uses historical material as an illustration of his argument would have

clarified the exposition and would in no way have weakened the author's contention that the appeal to history was a characteristic of the political life of the time. In view of the interest of many historians in capturing a wider reading public one may, perhaps, be pardoned for calling attention to the author's habit of constantly changing tenses and thus interrupting the flow of an otherwise well-written book. In sum, the book offers a very useful insight into the complexities of Restoration politics. (M. H. QUINLAN)

NEILL, THOMAS P. *Readings in the History of Western Civilization.* Volume I. Selected with Introduction and Commentary. (Westminster: Newman Press. 1957. Pp. xviii, 405. $2.25.)

These readings are proposed as supplementary to a recognized text in western civilization in two ways: 1) by offering sound studies of subjects that seem important from a Catholic point of view, but which often are omitted or treated briefly in the average text; 2) by presenting scholarly studies of topics frequently misunderstood by non-Catholics, e.g., the Church's attitude toward the Bible or the position of the Church in the Galileo case. For Catholics the sensitive areas of the course are those which concern the origins of Christianity, Church-State relations, the human elements in the Church, the Inquisition, the Renaissance, the Protestant Revolt, and the Council of Trent. A glance at the names of the authors from whose works Professor Neill has made his selections will give assurance of their scholarly competence in understanding the role of the Church and also in presenting their findings in a way that has won acceptance outside Catholic circles.

To have such a help at hand as this volume affords should prove a blessing for instructors as well as for students of western culture. Indeed, Professor Neill's introduction might well serve as the framework for a course in historiography and the philosophy of history. He tells how the writing of history differed from time to time as, e.g., when the men who wrote it were interested in telling a good story and in whose hands it was but a form of literature; and then of the changes in the nineteenth century when history became a social science written by professional historians who had perfected the technique of research and had evolved a method whereby the spurious and legendary in man's past might be separated from the true. But as he aptly says, "History is something more than an accumulation of facts, for it deals with men, with human actions and aspirations and, by its very nature, it differs from the other sciences in that it must take into consideration that man is a free agent." Thus the final product of any historical writing will depend largely on the proportions the author gives to the various events and upon his philosophy in evaluating them. Professor Neill has, then, done a tremendous service to teachers, as well as to students

of western civilization, by gathering in one volume these various types of historical writing. May the selections in his second volume be as well chosen as those in the first of this series. (SISTER AGNES BERNARD CAVANAUGH)

OBERMAN, H. A. *Archbishop Thomas Bradwardine, a Fourteenth Century Augustinian. A Study of his Theology in its Historical Context.* (Utrecht: Kemink & Zoon. 1957. Pp. xii, 246. f. 10.—.)

The history of theology in the fourteenth century has been enriched in recent decades by several studies on predestination, justification, grace and free will, not least of which are some recent publications by non-Catholic theologians on Thomas Bradwardine (c. 1290-1349), author of *De causa Dei,* against the "Pelagiani moderni" of his day. Dr. Oberman spends a brief time examining five theologians who are, perhaps, those whom Bradwardine opposed (since he did not cite names or make direct quotations it is hard to pinpoint his adversaries). The body of the book is devoted to an analysis of the *De causa Dei* and a commentary on its doctrine. A study of the influence the work had, or did not have, and a summary of findings concludes the work. The author concludes that it is unjust to label Bradwardine as a determinist; that the work was not a factor in the determinism of Nicholas of Autrecourt and John of Mirecourt; that there is no proof whatever for saying that Bradwardine's doctrine of justification influenced or foreshadowed the Reformation. At the same time, he finds several defects in the theology of Bradwardine, especially in the place he assigns to sin and the failure to do full justice to the essence of grace.

The book contains many typographical errors and awkward English expressions; but its most serious defect from the historical viewpoint is an excessive reliance on secondary sources for knowledge of and quotations from earlier scholastics. For the early Franciscan School—Thomas, Durandus, Scotus, and Ockham—Oberman depends on the studies of Vignaux, Seeberg, Michalski, etc. As a result, he does not know many works written or texts published in recent decades, and thus he falls into not a few historical errors. Lastly, there are instances wherein the Latin text of the footnotes does not yield the English paraphrase of the author. For all this, it seems a worthwhile contribution to the history of a difficult subject. (IGNATIUS BRADY)

REARDON, MAURICE E. (Ed.). *Mosaic of a Bishop: The Story of a Distinguished American Prelate, John T. McNicholas, O.P.* (Cincinnati: St. Gregory's Seminary. 1957. Pp. xiii, 365. $6.00.)

This volume is well named since its compiler shows skill in mosaic making. His subject is the prelate who served as Archbishop of Cincinnati

from 1925 to 1950, a brilliant orator and a recognized leader of the American hierarchy. The dominant pieces which Father Reardon fits together to form his portrait of the prelate are selections from the archbishop's manuscripts. For background pieces Father Reardon has written a series of biographical sketches which serve as introductions to the thirty-six selected texts. Archbishop Alter, present Metropolitan of Cincinnati, wrote the introduction and the sermon of the late Father Ignatius Smith, O.P., at Archbishop McNicholas' funeral is included as an epilogue. The result is an attractively printed, enjoyable, and remarkably informative tribute to the late archbishop.

Father Reardon was secretary to Archbishop McNicholas during the late years of his life when he himself was preparing a volume of his manuscripts. Publication after the archbishop's death has, perhaps, allowed more objective editing and the inclusion of the helpful biographical sketches. The selections cover a thirty-year span from the laying of the cornerstone of the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception in 1920 to a prayer written shortly before his death in 1950, but about one-fourth of the passages are from the years of World War II. The topics range from international peace to family recreation, and problems of education and the history of the Church in the United States are recurring themes. The archbishop's literary ability is, perhaps, best shown in the six funeral sermons included. A date omitted on page 178 would help to evaluate his comments on the moral obligations of automobile manufacturers.

Archbishop McNicholas was a man of such influence among his fellow bishops that a complete understanding of the history of the American Church in his generation will be impossible until a complete critical biography is written. Father Reardon has wisely not attempted such a study within the decade of the prelate's death. This volume is rather a well deserved tribute to the archbishop, published by the archdiocese which he served so ably during a critical quarter of a century. Father Reardon's interpretations and suggestions will be helpful to the eventual biographer. (LAWRENCE P. CAHILL)

REILLY, GEORGE L. *A Century of Catholicism. History of the Church of the Immaculate Conception, Montclair, New Jersey.* (Newark: Washington Irving Publishing Co. 1957. Pp. 136.)

In this slender volume Dr. Reilly of Seton Hall University has related in a masterly way the origins and growth of the Montclair parish over the past century. He has consulted a wide variety of documents, records, and newspapers in his research, and wherever possible old parishioners were

interviewed who through their reminiscences were able to fill in details concerning the pioneering period of the parish and its school, founded by Father Joseph Mendl, fourth pastor of the parish. The result is a reliable account of a small but important segment of the Catholic Church in New Jersey.

Besides recording the customary facts concerning the leading events in parish life, this work includes as well a number of anecdotes which add to the interest of the narrative. Father Mendl, pastor from 1879 to 1907, e.g., became a celebrity in Montclair among Catholics and Protestants alike by reason of his walks through the streets of the town where, should he encounter him, he did not hesitate on occasion to straighten out an intoxicated parishioner in a very persuasive manner. More than once Montclair witnessed the efforts of this "militant crusader against wrongdoing" whether the object of his zeal was a member of his flock or not. Likewise how Monsignor Farrell, pastor from 1924 to 1944, managed to secure a much needed sum of money from personal friends tc pay a bank loan on St. Patrick's Day affords an interesting and curious incident of the local pastors' place in the community. The well organized parish groups like the Knights of Columbus, the Holy Name Society, etc., are described in a way that shows the co-operation of the laity with the priests and teaching sisters in the work of saving souls. The American Church being made up of many parishes like the one described by Mr. Reilly, their history enables one to understand better the spiritual vitality of the American Catholic community. (MARIO MICH)

REYNOLDS, E. E. (Ed.). *The Mawhood Diary. Selections from the Diary Note-books of William Mawhood, Woolen-Draper of London, for the Years, 1761-1790.* [Volume L, Publications of the Catholic Record Society.] (London: Catholic Record Society. 1957. Pp. 291.)

The hopes of English Catholics for emancipation and equal rights first began to appear capable of realization in the last third of the eighteenth century. Bigotry was by no means dead and the penal laws remained until 1778 on the books and were still from time to time being enforced. The Gordon Riots of 1780 revealed the bitterness that lay not too deeply beneath the surface. Yet this age saw the progressive amelioration of the relief acts of 1778 and 1791 which pointed the way inevitably to the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829.

The Catholic Record Society here publishes its fiftieth volume of primary source material on the history of British Catholicism. The present volume is a selection from the diary of a prominent member of the London Catholic

community of the period, William Mawhood (pronounced Maud), covering the years 1761 to 1790. While omitting day-to-day business references to save space—the original diary is made up of forty-nine notebooks running to half a million words—the editor has retained all that reflects the Catholic life of the times. There is not a single page that is not replete with references to Bishop Challoner, the name appearing as "Chaloner" or "Chanoler" in Mawhood's odd spelling, the embassy chapels, priests connected with them, Mawhood's own attendance at "Prayers" or "High Prayers." The Mawhood family provided a refuge for the aged Challoner during the perilous Gordon Riots, all too briefly described.

The *Diary* is disappointing when one reflects what it might have been, since it lacks descriptions of significant events and extended portraits of the prominent figures whose names appear so frequently. Despite these shortcomings, to be expected in a work never intended for posterity, it has real value in providing an insight into Catholic life at the moment when the English faithful were just emerging from the catacombs of the penal age. The editor has added brief biographies of members of the Mawhood family, a parallel chronology of public and family events, and a handy index. The volume is available only to members of the Catholic Record Society. (WILLIAM KELLER)

REYNOLDS, JAMES A. (Ed.). *Historical Records and Studies.* Volume XLV. (New York: United States Catholic Historical Society, 1957. Pp. iv, 137.)

This volume of the New York Catholic Historical Society's publication has four articles on as many topics, the minutes of the annual meeting of the society held in 1956, the remarks addressed to Miss Elizabeth Herbermann when she retired as executive secretary of the organization in 1956 after forty years of dedicated service, a brief sketch of the life of one of the society's "most active and honored members," the late Monsignor Thomas J. McMahon, and a list of the society's officers, directors, and members.

In the first article, "Some Aspects of the Return of Bishop Cheverus to France," Dr. Annabelle M. Melville, whose biography of the prelate has since appeared, revealed the mass of documentary evidence she had accumulated, a thorough knowledge of the conditions at the time in France, and an understanding of the bishop's character by presenting a solution to the "Cheverus problem." In other words, she explains why Jean LeFebvre de Cheverus, after almost twenty-seven years in New England, and after a decade and a half as Bishop of Boston, returned to

France and accepted the See of Montauban to which he had been nominated by King Louis XVIII.

James Whitfield's life from his birth in Liverpool in 1770 to his consecration in 1828 as fourth Archbishop of Baltimore is the subject of the second essay. The footnotes indicate that Bosco David Cestello, O.S.B., used the archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore as his principal source to give an excellent account of the successful young English merchant's first years in the priesthood after completing his studies under the Sulpicians at Lyons, the circumstances that eventually moved him to leave England and his labors in Baltimore where the French-born Archbishop Maréchal, who had been his friend for many years, gave him positions of trust and as a final mark of his esteem urged Rome to designate him as successor to the See of Baltimore.

In the third article John R. Frese, S.J., demonstrates that the editors of the principal organs (fourteen of them) of Catholic opinion published in 1860 and 1861 were poles apart in their views on the causes of secession. In language that was frequently intemperate the one or the other categorically stated that the rebellion was caused by the spirit of the age, England's connivance, slavery and Protestant abolition, the desires and demagogues of the South. Father Frese also presents sufficient evidence to conclude that Catholic opinion was divided on the question of the legality and constitutionality of secession.

"Parish in Arms: A Study of Father John MacKenna and the Mohawk Valley Loyalists, 1773-1778" by Richard K. MacMaster, S.J., is the final contribution. The author deserves commendation for finding considerable material in a number of places that would appear to have no relation to the topic; this material enabled him to trace the movements and give an account of the actions of the Irish priest and of his Scottish and Irish parishioners who remained loyal to the crown principally because of his influence and who eventually settled in Ontario. (PATRICK H. AHERN)

RONCAGLIA, MARTINIANO. *Saint Francis of Assisi and the Middle East*, 2nd. ed. (Westminster: Newman Press. 1957. Pp. v, 95. $1.00.)

The author explains in his preface that this brief study is based on a book by the German Franciscan, Leonard Lemmens, *Die Franziskaner im Hl. Lande*, (2nd. edition, 1925), corrections and additions having been made to bring it up to date. Since there has been no substantial English publication up to the present time on Franciscan history in the Holy Land and Middle East, it would have been a great service to English readers if a fuller translation of Lemmens had been made available. The fact,

however, that Roncaglia has published several monographs in this field and the fact of his association with the Franciscan Center of Oriental Studies in Cairo lead us to hope that his historical investigations will result in a more complete and definitive work.

The present brochure is limited in form to historical sketches and in time to the thirteenth century. Roncaglia gives us, after six pages of bibliography and three pages of preface, a seven-page introduction to the historical period of which he writes. An interesting point in this introduction is the comparison of the vicissitudes of the Custody of the Holy Land during two different regimes: the government of the Egyptian and of the Turkish sultans, respectively.

After this preparation, the author analyses the missionary aims and ideals of St. Francis himself, which are of primary missiological importance. The aims and ideals of the saint who is so beautifully described in the Franciscan liturgy as "Franciscus, vir catholicus et totus apostolicus," were simply to carry out the command of Christ to go and teach all nations, and to do this in all simplicity. Animated by this ideal, Franciscan missionaries set out to preach "without any other methodological formation than that of being disposed to suffer anything, even death" (p. 23). Later on, however, regulations were laid down for these missionaries, such as the provisions found in the *Prima regula*, chapters 14-17, of which chapter 16 is especially pertinent. (Cf. van der Vat, *Die Anfänge der Franziskanermissionen*, 1934, p. 11.) Other provisions were made, as Roncaglia describes, by the general chapters held at Montpellier in 1287 and at Paris in 1292. The curious phrasing of one of the regulations which the Montpellier chapter found necessary is historically significant: "Nullus minister scienter mittat Fratres aliquos insolentes ad Provinciam Terrae Sanctae" (p. 70).

After sketching the work of St. Francis himself, Roncaglia quickly chronicles the highlights of the remainder of the thirteenth century, giving descriptions of the geographical distribution and personnel status of the Holy Land missions in that period. The final chapter deals with the relationship between Franciscans and Mohammedans and is followed by indices and a list of the publications of the Franciscan Center of Oriental Studies in Cairo.

It is rather surprising in a work that has gone into a second edition to note that the English of this monograph still leaves something to be desired. E.g., while the index of places is called a "Topographical List," the index of names is called a "List of Nouns." More importantly, the stiffness of the English sometimes garbles the meaning. There are other such slips and ambiguities which should be revised in any further edition. (MATTHIAS BRAUN)

ROCHAIS, HENRICUS M., O.S.B. *Defensoris Liber Scintillarum* and *Epistulae Anstrasicae et Merovingicae,* reprints of the editions of Arndt, Gundlach, *et al.* Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina. Vol. CXVII. (Turnhout [Belgium]: Editions Brepols. 1957. Pp. xxxi, 692. Belg. fr. 650; bound, 725 [10% discount to subscribers to the series].)

This volume is the fifteenth to appear in the *Corpus Christianorum,* Series Latina. Volume I, the first of two volumes devoted to the works of Tertullian, was published in 1953. The *Corpus* is edited by the monks of the Abbey of St. Peter at Steenbrugge in Belgium under the direction of Dom Eligius Dekkers, O.S.B., who gave us such a splendid prospectus and bibliographical tool in his *Clavis Patrum Latinorum* (1951). It has well been described as a new Migne, i.e., as a collection which will make easily available the best current critical texts of Christian Latin writers and collections. It is confined—at present at least—to writers before the beginning of the ninth century and will comprise 175 octavo volumes of 500 to 1,000 pages each. The texts are printed with full critical apparatus, with supplementary textual material being incorporated, if it exists. There are adequate introductions, bibliography, and indices. The present volume may be regarded in some respects as fairly typical. The *Epistulae,* etc., are reprinted from the *Monumenta Germaniae historica,* but Dom Rochais has given us an entirely new and excellent critical edition of the *Liber Scintillarum,* compiled by Defensor, a monk of Ligugé (near Poitiers), in the late seventh century, with a full introduction and elaborate indices. The *Index verborum asceticorum* is especially welcome. The new prospectus promises that from now on the tempo of publication will be much more rapid. Early in 1958 seven new volumes were in press and some fifty volumes were in various stages of preparation. This is a series which should be in every university, seminary, and religious house of studies. The American distributor is the Newman Bookshop, Foreign Department, 9th Street, N.E., Washington 17, D. C. (MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE)

SCHELLENBERG, T. R. *Modern Archives. Principles and Techniques.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1957. Pp. xv, 248. $5.00.)

The author of this volume was a Fulbright lecturer in Australia in 1954 and out of his speeches, lectures, and seminars "down under" has come this path-finding little volume. It might be described as the result of his experience in the National Archives at Washington with public records meeting up with the Australian system based on the old world use of registers rather than filing techniques. His purpose is expressed in terms of enlightening the nature of relationships not only among various activities of an archival institution, but also between the handling of current and

of retired records, between the work of archives and of libraries, and between European and American ways. In a sense, too, this book is a presentation to the world against its proper background of the contribution of the National Archives over the past two decades to modern archival theory and practice. It also brings to a wider public much of the contribution made by articles in the *American Archivist*. The coverage of the book is quite thorough and shows an awareness of all the latest developments in the handling of records. An introductory section treats of the importance and nature of archives and of the relationship of archival administration to librarianship and record management. A second section deals exclusively with this last field from the questions of controls through to the problem of desposition. Throughout this treatment of record management there is a pointing up of the contrast of the registry and filing systems. The final and (certainly for the historian) the most important division is on archival management which covers the problems of preservation, arrangement, description, publication, and reference. Except for the last the author draws on western European experience as well as American.

Dr. Schellenberg is systematic and logical throughout. For the uninitiated the record management chapters will be particularly hard plowing, for there is much of the jargon of government. For non-governmental archivists and record managers the book will be of service according to their ability to adapt and to accommodate. Even librarians will find parts of its salutary, at least in giving them an insight into a kindred area they hear little or nothing of in their training. For the graduate student, especially in American history, this book will replace the so-called manual of Muller, Feith, and Fruin and will not leave him a fraction as mystified. Certainly no social scientist intending to work in the National Archives should try to avoid perusing this useful publication. (HENRY J. BROWNE)

SCHOENBERG, WILFRED P., S.J. *Jesuit Mission Presses in the Pacific Northwest. A History and Bibliography of Imprints, 1876-1899.* (Portland: Champoeg Press. 1957. Pp. 76. $7.50.)

This is a detailed account of the St. Ignatius Press (Print) in Montana and the Sacred Heart Mission Press (De Smet) in Idaho Territory, both of which were founded as a result of the activities of Father Pierre Jean De Smet. The opening section surveys the objectives, viz., that of providing primarily "works intended to help succeeding missionaries to learn the language" (p. 3), with the secondary purpose of offering works in Indian languages intended for the use of the natives. A three-volume Kalispel dictionary (1877-1879) "is one of the greatest mission press publications of American history"; also of significance is the 1891 Nez Percé grammar.

The author has done very well in supplying the historical background of the two missions and describing accurately, in chronological order, sixty-six imprints of the St. Ignatius Mission Press and the thirty-three of the Sacred Heart Mission School Press. The former operated at the mission's school for boys where the boys learned typography and performed press operations. The teacher was Father Alexander Diomedi who had served an apprenticeship in printing at Woodstock College in Maryland. Facsimiles portray the book design and types employed. The index, unfortunately, is limited to the bibliographical entries and omits references to the introductory text and the notes. The entire work is a model of fine bookmaking. (EUGENE P. WILLGING)

SMITH, JAMES M. and PAUL L. MURPHY (Eds.). *Liberty and Justice. A Historical Record of American Constitutional Development.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1958. Pp. xxi, 566 xv. $6.75.)

SWISHER, CARL BRENT. *Historic Decisions of the Supreme Court.* (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc. 1958. Pp. 192. $1.25.)

The aim of the work by Smith and Murphy is to integrate the stream of constitutional growth with the total evolution of American democracy in its political, economic, and social aspects. The years 1606 to 1956 are transversed, and the changes from the colonial era and the founding of an agrarian republic to the status of a major world power are recorded. Stress is placed upon the actual working out of ideas in practice rather than upon their contemplation in theory. In determining to emphasize the translation of theory into practice, the actualization of doctrines in the rigid testing of experience, and the institutionalizing of ideas, the editors feel that they are following in the footsteps of the Founding Fathers. To accomplish their objective, they offer a comprehensive, well-balanced selection of 276 key documents and readings which present the salient development in American constitutionalism against the broad background of the varied changes involved in the growth of the nation. A variety of richly diversified materials has been included. Supreme Court decisions, congressional debates, statutes and reports, presidential messages, personal letters, pamphlets, newspaper commentaries, and sermons are used. The result is an inclusive collection which depicts the main events which have molded the Constitution into a living law. The organization of the work upon a chronological and topical basis provides historical continuity and perspective, and presents the recurring problems of the past which illuminate present issues. The readings in each chapter are prefaced by a short introduction which analyzes the content and importance of the

respective documents. These succinct, cogent statements add up to incisive topical essays, and serve to place the readings in their historical context.

Dr. Swisher's work is an Anvil paperback the purpose of which is to present essentially important excerpts from the truly historic decisions of the Supreme Court. Thirty-three such decisions are offered with nineteen pertaining to the nineteenth century while fourteen traverse the period from 1905 to 1957. The decisions are presented in chronological order and the short introductions to each historic decision are clear, interesting, and objective. (GEORGE A. HIGGINS)

UTLEY, T. E. and J. STUART MACLURE (Eds.). *Documents of Modern Political Thought.* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1957. Pp. ix, 276. $3.75.)

In recent years a series of readings on the various aspects of political thought have appeared. Unlike the majority of these, the present work does not seek to survey the documentary development of current political thought; rather, it isolates and presents those documents in which "the doctrinal assumptions implicit in contemporary political thought" are to be found. As these are myriad, the editors sought a basis for selection. They distinguish five broad trends: representative democracy, Communism, papal political theory, Romantic authoritarianism, and Protestant political thought. The doctrinal assumptions presented are those which differentiate each of these five broad groups.

In the section on "Papal Political Thought" the distinction is made between papal pronouncements and their current application by Catholic political parties. However, so diverse are the applications held to be, that the editors restrict themselves to documenting the papal position on such subjects as the meaning of natural law, the nature of the state, the rights of man, the social order, Communism, and education. Excerpts from the "Constitution of the Republic of Ireland" appear as a manifestation of one of the closest current applications of these pronouncements.

The section on "Protestant Political Thought," which completes the book, presents a Protestant outlook on "The Conflict between Individual and Social Morality," on the identification of the churches with controversial political and social questions, the position of the World Council of Churches on "Social Questions" and "Inter Group Relations," and the position of the Church of Scotland on "Justice and the Community." The work replaces Michael Oakeshott's *Social and Political Doctrines of Contemporary Europe* (1939), which presented the doctrinal basis of the political philosophies which were paramount in his day. It is a convenient reference work for contemporary political thought, well arranged, easily read, and brief. (EUGENE KUSIELEWICZ)

VILLARI, LUIGI. *Italian Foreign Policy Under Mussolini.* (New York: Devin-Adair Co. 1957. Pp. xii, 396. $6.00.)

This book is startling. The author's main thesis is that Mussolini was the one European statesman who really worked for peace and proposed a feasible plan, and that his efforts were thwarted by the British and French governments because of their dislike of the Fascist regime. Subsidiary to this leading idea are several others which are equally at variance with the facts: the foreign office was fanatically attached to the League of Nations; the league itself was completely under the domination of the British who used it for their own selfish ends; after the hypocritical league action in the Ethiopian affair Mussolini's only means of protecting Italy was to turn to Hitler; the duce was working for peace when he signed the Axis treaty, and "could hardly have foreseen the rash and impetuous action of Hitler"; in contrast to the selfish and war-loving allies, from the time of the Corfu incident until the end of the Peoples' Republic, Mussolini's policy was dictated by love of Italy and desire for peace. Such is the general trend of the author's ideas.

The authorities cited in support of these theories are not convincing. Dr. Villari evidently relies on his strong expression of anti-Communist feeling, and the prevailing fear of Russia, to supply for thorough documentation. There is no bibliography, and few of the books named in the footnotes are primary sources. It is true that Mussolini's speeches are cited from the *Scritti e discorsi,* and that Ciano's *L'Europe verso la catastrofe* and his *Diario* are referred to, as also Hull's *Memoirs.* However, instead of using the official collections of German, British, and American diplomatic documents, and the wealth of serious monographs now available, Villari relies chiefly on journalists such as Sisley Huddleston and Paul Gentizon. Many of his statements are based on even less reliable sources. On the authority of an unnamed Italian officer, the British are accused of bribing French deputies to turn Laval out of the government. "It is said," "an American prisoner of war," are typical of the references given.

A rather unusual "publisher's preface" states that "There is no pretense on the part of the publisher that Dr. Villari's book is completely objective history." With this the present reviewer heartily concurs. The publisher has also circularized the members of the American Historical Association to protest against M. René Albrecht-Carrié's review in the October, 1956, issue of the *Review.* In this protest he claims that Villari's book is as serious an account of Italian foreign policy as a history of American foreign policy by Thomas Bailey or Samuel Bemis would be. Anyone familiar with their work will strongly dissent. They write history; Villari has written a party manifesto. (JANE K. MILLER)

VON SCHWARZENFELD, GERTRUDE. *Charles V.: Father of Europe.* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co. 1957. Pp. x, 306. $6.50.)

Readers of this volume will find that the author brings a new approach and a fresh point of view to the study of the famous emperor. Sometimes paucity of knowledge may explain historical leanings; in this case enthusiasm for the author's hero grew from a deep and extensive knowledge of her subject, plus a filial devotion to the Hapsburgs. There is an advantage in being able to read history in more than one language, and Miss von Schwarzenfeld's bibliography shows familiarity with half a dozen languages. A Bohemian, raised in Prague, she writes in German. Fortunately, her work retains a genuine savor in an excellent readable translation. Her intimate insights into events, which are so conveniently tabulated in the front, and intense search into the lives of Charles' contemporaries in Church and State, so aptly indexed at the back of the book, all coalesce to portray a vivid picture of the times and to delineate a character portrait of the emperor. Both the summary of events and the index of persons enhance the value of the volume. Briefly, but amply, the background, with lights and shadows; the Hapsburg family; the shifting political situation; the economic picture, the wars, and intrigues, the Protestant Revolt; the emperor's public relations with the Holy See, and Charles' final abdication and retirement, are all here. A diary begun on a visit to Spain grew into majestic proportions centered around a youth who at the age of six had become Duke of Burgundy and ruler of the Netherlands; at sixteen King of Spain as well as of Sicily and Naples; and at nineteen emperor-elect.

The biographer of Charles cannot avoid treating of the religious upheaval and the doctrinal questions of his age. In this aspect one statement concerning transubstantiation could have been expressed more accurately (p. 203). The divisive influence of the Protestant Revolt so upset Charles that he sought to conciliate Luther and his followers and to reconcile them to the old faith. But his naive method of drawing up a common statement of doctrine acceptable to both sides brought only opprobrium on his own head, and after the Diet of Worms (p. 73) Charles discovered that his method and efforts had all been in vain. Too late he regretted that he had not at once taken sterner measures against Luther. Regarding the struggle between Paul IV and the emperor, the author cites Charles' attempt to prevent Caraffa from being appointed Archbishop of Naples (p. 261); but she fails to mention that he had also tried to prevent Caraffa from being elected pope, which came about on May 25, 1555. Were the reasons that Charles V gave in his formal speech of abdication on October 25, 1555, complete? His retirement at the age of fifty-five to a life of study, prayer, and penance, in the monastery of San Jeronimo at Yuste ended a fabulous career. "To the very end the emperor prayed for the peace and

unity of the Church." After reading the achievements and failures of Charles V in the light of his aspirations for a united Europe, the reader may have a second thought concerning the appropriateness of the title "Father of Europe." (LEO V. LYDEN)

WEDGWOOD, C. V. *The Sense of the Past.* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1957. Pp. 27. .75¢.)

The Leslie Stephen Lecture of 1957 takes its title from an unfinished fragment by Henry James, but it takes its substance from erudite and catholic thoughts of one of England's most literary historians, the contemporary specialist in the age of Charles I and the Civil War. Although Miss Wedgwood confesses that she believes that we cannot hope to recover the past perfectly, she maintains that the historian has always tried, and still tries, to take hold of it through knowledge, through imagination working on knowledge, and the ministry of our own experience.

Knowledge of the past is immeasurably enlarged by the massive editing of documents, the increasing use of photostats and microfilm, and the preservation and repair of the objects of the past. But Miss Wedgwood is much more concerned with the effects of imagination upon knowledge in this lecture. There is the imagination of the romantic poet, who uses historic sites, not to strengthen his vision of the past but to heighten contemporary sensations of piety or patriotism; there is the imagination of a Sir Walter Scott, who did more than any other to "awaken the minds of educated people to the charm and vitality of the past."

The third factor, our own experience, presents its advantages and handicaps in much the same degree. Instead of examining the quality of an epoch for itself alone we tend to relate it to the present, and even the future. "The modern student knows too much." He knows what came afterward. To regain an understanding of the past he must divest himself of the ideas and prejudices peculiar to his own age. Yet the modern attitude toward history is to make deductions from the past and apply them to the future, in our own lives, and in contemporary politics. This historical Benthamism limits a full recapture of another era. We remain rooted, Miss Wedgwood points out, in our own time with the "confidence of candour, and candour of confidence" in our own.

In the final analysis, in the verbal combat over the frontier between scholarship and creative literature *The Sense of the Past* appears to score for the latter contestants. Historical knowledge is enormously indebted for the deeper and wider scope the romantics have given to historical inquiry. "In spite of all the drawbacks . . . the romantic approach to history made the understanding of the past possible in ways never attempted

before. The romantics recognized the comprehensive nature of history as a study." And according to Miss Wedgwood, the past can only be entered into fully through sympathy, through a capacity for entering into the fervor of our ancestors' beliefs. The imaginative writer brings a more powerful aid to the task than pure scholarship. This comes like a fresh breeze into a room filled with the smoke of scientific preoccupations. (ANNABELLE M. MELVILLE)

WILLIAMS, MYRON R. *The Story of Phillips Exeter.* (Exeter: Phillips Exeter Academy. 1957. Pp. vi, 229. $3.75.)

To this reviewer the most vivid recollections of life in the traditional American private secondary school for boys come from his long-past reading of the *Rover Boys* and their doings at "Putnam Hall." A counterpart in real life is furnished by Mr. Williams' readable account of a deservedly famous school, Phillips Exeter. One can almost match characters in the dignified principals, the instructors with this or that virtue, eccentricity, or weakness, and in the boys, good, bad, and just mischievous who appear in the history and in the novels.

All Americans, especially the educators, should want to know about an academy which has lasted for more than 175 years in the face of the increasing size and pull of the state-supported system. Phillips Exeter has moved on through years of hardship and near-disaster and survived financial perils as well as internal decomposition in pedagogical procedure and spirit. It has arrived in our own time, strong and amazingly versatile in what it has achieved and what it offers its present students. All this is heartening to one who believes that the diversity of American education is vital to both school and country. Some say a school is its students and alumni. Phillips Exeter has turned out many a boy who has become famous in public life. Others would say a school is its purpose. It seems that Mr. Williams feels that this school has been its teachers. The devotion of the faculty to an ideal the achievement of which meant hard work, self-sacrifice—indeed, their whole lives has made the academy a success. "Men, not buildings" is said to have been the slogan at the Johns Hopkins. Phillips Exeter seems to have had both—an excellent faculty with occasional exceptions, and sixty-two buildings for 750 boys!

The late George B. Rogers, a distinguished faculty member, maintained that Phillips Exeter has remained a "Puritan School," faithful to the ideals of its Calvinist founder, John Phillips. It is not clear that this holds regarding what Phillips wrote in the constitution about the importance of religious instruction. An extended outline of doctrines both of natural and revealed religion, according to the Calvinist belief, was ordered to be

taught (pp. 191-192). Yet, after the ineffectual attempt on the part of an early nineteenth-century divine to be "theological instructor" and the sporadic presence of others from 1912 to 1923, it was only in 1953 that another effort was made, and today the academy has a "school minister." Encouragingly, however, a 1948 questionnaire on student opinion at Phillips Exeter revealed that the boys "thought religious training is an essential part of education." The dream of Johns Phillips may yet be fully realized. (W. KAILER DUNN)

WILLIAMS, T. DESMOND (Ed.). *Historical Studies: I. Papers Read to the Second Irish Conference of Historians.* (London: Bowes and Bowes. 1958. Pp. 99. 10s6d.)

This is a scholarly volume containing several papers read at the Irish Conference of Historians in Dublin during the summer of 1955. The selections cover economic, diplomatic, modern European as well as mediaeval and modern Irish history. Michael Oakeshott, professor of political science in the London School of Economics, contributes a long piece on historical theory entitled "The Activity of Being an Historian." Among the conclusions following from the activity of being an historian, that which is most patent is the fact that an historian achieves little measure of specification. This he states and demonstrates in some seventeen pages. According to Oakeshott, for the historian the past is something feminine which he loves like a mistress "of whom he never tires, and whom he never expects to talk sense."

Professor D. B. Quinn of University College, Swansea, in his "Ireland and Sixteenth Century European Expansion" describes the links between Ireland and the sixteenth century Spanish overseas possessions. Two historiographical papers, "The Historiography of World War II" by Professor T. Desmond Williams of University College, Dublin, and "The Historiography of the English Reformation," by Professor B. H. G. Wormald of Cambridge University, are valuable contributions in the evaluation of source material covering these two widely separated world crises. "Mercantilism in Ireland, 1620-1640" by H. F. Kearney of University College, Dublin, describes the mercantilist policies during the lord deputyship of Thomas Wentworth who, according to Kearney (and Heckscher), adopted a long-term mercantilist policy in Ireland some three decades before Colbert's economic theories and practice took hold in France and in other parts of western Europe.

Michael Roberts' (Queen's University, Belfast) "Gustavus Adolphus and the Art of War" and E. St. John Brooks' "Essay on the Sources of

Medieval Anglo-Irish History" are the two final worthwhile papers presented in this excellently edited historical publication which will be followed, we hope, by others to come. (EDMUND J. MURRAY).

YEARLEY, CLIFTON K., JR. *Britons in American Labor: A History of the Influence of the United Kingdom Immigrants on American Labor, 1820-1914.* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1957. Pp. ix, 332.)

The author's expressed purpose in this study was "to determine whether the labor movement in America would have been substantially different if British and Irish men and ideas had been subtracted from it. . . ." (p. 23). Since his concept of "influence . . . on American labor" is very broad, he deals not only with the organization of labor strictly speaking, but also with the co-operative movement, political action, and measures of social reform related to workers.

The influence of skilled tradesmen and experienced unionist from Britain upon the newly developing industrial American society, especially during the latter half of the nineteenth century has, of course, been generally recognized by students of American labor history. Nevertheless, the present study makes a distinct contribution by developing this theme and demonstrating the extensiveness of this influence. One might even get the impression that influences from other sources, e.g., Germany and also from factors indigenous to the United States—were practically negligible. However, the task of delineating these influences lies outside the scope of the present work. A substantial portion of the work is based on the author's study of the careers of 300 immigrant labor organizers and labor leaders of which certain ones are described extensively. The study is copiously documented with references to printed sources and manuscript collections from various archives. (PATRICK W. GEARTY)

YULE, GEORGE. *The Independents in the English Civil War.* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1958. Pp. vii, 155. $4.00.)

Mr. Yule has written a state-of-the-question study of the persons whose religious convictions and associations upset the religious Establishment of early seventeenth-century England. The importance of the period is clear: the determination of the religious Independents showed the impossibility of a comprehensive Church of England. The independent Protestant mind refused to be comprehended and that refusal was a fact which no amount of deft administration could alter. The governments and Church of James I and Charles I elected not to accept this great fact of their

national life, and they suffered the fate of those who turn their back to political reality. The tumbling of the monarchy and the Church by debate and battle makes fair history, but the roots and inner course of the forces of rebellion are difficult studies, indeed. The author offers the student and researcher a brief (82 pages), careful essay on the religious origins and the extent of Independency just before and during the Civil War, and its influence as a party on the parliaments and the army. It is thoroughly documented.

Mr. Yule makes some stimulating observations. He rejects the notion that the Independents were primarily a political party. And he offers a reason why the more tolerant Independents were swallowed up ecclesiastically by the more aggressive Presbyterians: chiefly because the former could not supply enough ministers to compete with the well organized Presbyterians. He suggests also that there really was no genuine theology of separation from the Establishment, and that even ideas of congregational independence were hazy. He takes a nice historical lesson from what has been tagged middle-of-the-road Independency, a sentiment that is often considered to have been a great religious party from which grew a right branch of Presbyterianism and a left branch of free-wheeling Separatism. Mr. Yule suggests that, in fact, classic religious Independency, innocent of plan and plot against the bench of bishops, barely existed as a party at all. In its purity it was a theory that some contemporary writers hoped to twine into a rope bridge between conservative Presbyterianism and revolutionary Separatism. It was more an aspiration than a party, and it faded quickly. It is a good warning not to accept too easily a descent of party patterned after a logical division of ideas. An appendix, which is as long as the essay, should be exceedingly useful to those working in the period. It lists the members of the opposition parliaments with notes on family background, party, religious shading, dates of sittings, and other valuable information. And there is a similar register of Congregationalist ministers. The author has laid out for students the most useful parts of his research file on the composition and influence of Independency in the Civil War. He points out carefully how much essential material is not yet available and this seems to be almost as useful as his fine notes and charts. (EUGENE V. CLARK)

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